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CONTENTS

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USSR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Gorbachev Proposal on Medium-Range Missiles [PRAVDA 1 Mar] AA 1
Moscow TV: New Opportunity AA 3
U.S. 'Interested, Cautious' AA 4
NEW TIMES Interviews Sagdeyev on Dangers of SDI [Alekseyev, Mlechin, 23 Feb] AA 5

UNITED STATES & CANADA

Gorbachev Pledges To Stay Out of 'Irangate Row' [AFP] A 1
Daily on 'Irangate', Reagan's 'Troupe' [Koryavin in IZVESTIYA, 27 Feb] A 1
TASS: Allies in 'Irangate' A 2
Ignatyev on White House 'Blunders', Regan A 3
Reagan Meets Republicans on Tower Report A 4
Gorbachev, Fasting Scientist Exchange 'Support' A 5
Joseph Clark 'Acclaims' Gorbachev's New Proposal A 6

SOUTHEAST ASIA & PACIFIC

Shevardnadze Receives Australian Ambassador E 1
Shevardnadze Departs on Asia-Pacific Tour E 1
USSR Policy in Pacific Region Discussed E 1

MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

Solovyev Visits Libya for Celebrations H 1
Further Reportage [cross-reference] H 1
Tatliyev Makes Official Visit to Sudan [IZVESTIYA 26 Feb] H 1
Addresses Sudanese Parliament H 2
Delegation Returns to Moscow [IZVESTIYA 27 Feb] H 2
Demichev Receives Tunisian Ambassador Gherab [IZVESTIYA 15 Feb] H 3
Gherab Leaves Moscow H 3
Angolan Party Propagandists Visit 1-10 Feb [PRAVDA 13 Feb] H 3
Director Visits Estonia [Luanda] H 3
Voice of Israel Interviews Gennadiy Gerasimov H 4
Gerasimov Interview on Immigration, Egypt H 4
Comparison of Al-Bid Speech in Kremlin 10 Feb [PRAVDA 11 Feb] H 5
PRAVDA: 'Inflammatory' U.S. Role in Gulf War [9 Feb] H 7

'Tragedy' of Lebanese-Palestinian Infighting H 8
[Glukhov in PRAVDA 15 Feb]
Refugees Return to PDRY Under Amnesty Decree H 9
[PRAVDA 26 Feb]

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

CPSU Delegation Ends Visit to Tanzania J 1
[PRAVDA 24 Feb]
Greeting Telegrams Exchanged With Burkina Faso J 1
[IZVESTIYA 20 Feb]
Commentary on Ruling Party Member's Resignation J 2
[Fedorov]

LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN

Panamanian Delegation Arrives in Moscow K 1
[Panama City]
Meets Petr Demichev [Panama City] K 1
Further on Meeting [IZVESTIYA, 27 Feb] K 1
Komplektov Receives Group [IZVESTIYA 27 Feb] K 2

USSR NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICAL & SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

Politburo Discusses Gorbachev's Baltic Tour R 1
RSFSR Official Says Churbanov Investigated R 2
[Oleynik in MOSCOW NEWS 22 Feb]
Education Minister on New VUZ Entrance Rules R 3
[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 21 Feb]
Gerasimov Says Emigration Requests Reexamined R 4
Promises Reply R 4
Dissident Psychiatrist Requests Asylum in West R 5
[London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH 1 Mar]
Former Pilot Back in Psychiatric Hospital [AFP] R 6
Return of Former Soviet Citizens Reported R 7
Ambartsumov Examines Recent Developments R 7
[Szaniszlo in MAGYARORSZAG 15 Feb]

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Prosecutions Stem From Railroad Freight Car Abuses S 1
[Rekunkov in PRAVDA 16 Feb]
Railways Delay Delivery of Agricultural Machines S 3
TASS Analyst on New Draft Trade Union Rules S 3
[Prokhorov]
Moscow TV Views Foreign Economic Relations S 4
[Bunich, Ivanov, Bogomolov]
Azerbaijan Rail Transportation System Criticized S 7
Reorganization of Rural Construction Noted S 8

AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS

PRAVDA Account of Cotton Harvest Resolution [24 Feb] T 1
Media Covers 12-15 Feb Agricultural Work T 2

MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

Further Details on Army Anniversary Meeting [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Feb] V 1
Lizichev Discusses Army Training, Morale [Yanelis in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] V 1
Akhromeyev Hosts Army, Navy Day Reception [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 Feb] V 7
General Tretyak at Kiev MD Komsomol Conference [Polyakov in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Feb] V 7

GORBACHEV PROPOSAL ON MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES

LD281756 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 87 First Edition

["Statement by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Moscow 1 Mar -- On 15 January 1986, the Soviet Union put forward an historic program, that of stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons. When suggesting it we proceeded from the firm conviction that future security would be a nuclear-free one.

The Soviet leadership, and the country's Defense Council, which I am instructed to head, constantly keeps the problems of the security of the country, that of our allies, and of universal security at the center of attention. We do not have the slightest doubt the security of the world and the survival of humanity should be ensured by joint efforts and political means, and not by weapons.

The common sense of the peoples, an overwhelming majority of parties and movements, and the natural instinct of self-preservation decline to accept the logic of humanity's suicide.

Guided by the awareness of high responsibility to the world, the Soviet Union comes out in favor of finding mutually acceptable solutions in the interests of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world.

At the recent forum in Moscow we once again felt the expectations, concerns and intense searchings of outstanding representatives of science and culture, politics and religions and again became keenly aware of the crucial nature of our times.

The Reykjavik meeting showed nuclear disarmament is a completely realistic policy. In the capital of Iceland we were one step away from an accord on a whole range of such decisions which in their aggregate would have signified a deep breakthrough in the front of nuclear danger.

Herein is the greatness and tragedy of the Reykjavik meeting. Its greatness was in the fact that an attainable prospect of a nuclear-free world opened. Its tragedy lay in the fact that powerful forces, being held captive by nuclear-strength mentality, opposed accords.

It is a matter of common knowledge what was happened after the Reykjavik meeting. The U.S. Administration backed away from what was achieved.

The Soviet-U.S. talks, notwithstanding our efforts to give dynamism and specific character to them, are again being deliberately blocked.

The same officials who regarded it as logical in Reykjavik to consider the entire package of proposals covering strategic offensive arms, medium-range missiles, space weaponry, and nuclear tests, are now preoccupied with sabotaging accords on each of the areas by pleading that the Soviet Union insists on solving them as a package.

In actual fact the talks are being blocked by narrow selfish interests and by unwillingness to give up counting on military and technological superiority, and by illusory expectations to get ahead, and primarily via outer space.

To us, this approach is alien, and more than that -- it is unacceptable. Our principled course is to look tirelessly for solutions which would open up a way to mutually acceptable accords and to equal security.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, upon having recently considered the package of issues connected with the implementation of the program for a nuclear-free world, decided to make yet another big step in this direction.

Today, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, I am announcing our decision which is as follows.

The Soviet Union suggests the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe be singled out from the package of issues, and that a separate agreement on it be concluded on it without delay.

There is actually a ready accord, and not just a basis, for such a step. It was agreed in Reykjavik that the Soviet Union and the United States would eliminate all their medium-range missiles (MRM) in Europe within the next five years. Within the same period the number of Soviet MRM's in the Asian part of our territory would be reduced to a hundred warheads on the understanding that the United States could leave the same number of MRM warheads in its national territory.

As soon as an agreement on eliminating Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe is signed, the USSR will withdraw from the GDR and the USSR, by agreement with the governments of those countries, the enhanced-range operational-tactical missiles [operativno-takticheskiye rakety povyshennoy dalnosti] which were sited there as retaliatory measures to the deployment in Western Europe.

As far as other theater missiles are concerned, we are prepared to begin talks immediately with a view to reducing and fully eliminating them.

So, there is a real opportunity to free our common European home from a considerable portion of nuclear burden within the shortest possible time. That would be a real and big step toward full deliverance of Europe from nuclear arms. We are putting our proposals on the table of negotiations with the United States in Geneva.

We were assured more than once that if the USSR singles out the issue of medium-range missiles from the Reykjavik package, there would be no difficulty to agree to their elimination in Europe. A good opportunity is now being offered to prove that in practice. This is being awaited by the Europeans and by the peoples of other continents. This is required by the interests of the present and the future.

While singling out the issue of medium-range missiles in Europe now, the Soviet Government still considers it highly important to reach agreement on substantial limitation and then elimination of strategic arms.

Of course, the conclusion of such an agreement, as has been repeatedly emphasized, should be conditioned by a decision on the prevention of deployment of weapons in outer space, in view of the organic interconnection of these issues.

Despite all the difficulties and artificial obstructions, the Soviet Union is again showing its will to resolve the nuclear disarmament issue.

The new way of thinking means an ability to listen to the voice of the public, the European and world one, to understand the concerns and interests of other peoples, and not to separate one's own security from the security of neighbors in our interconnected world.

The historic chance should not be missed! We are awaiting a speedy and positive reply.

Moscow TV: New Opportunity

LD012222 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Mar 87

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Tomas Kolesnichenko]

[Text] Hello comrades. Today is the 1st day of spring according to the calendar, and correspondingly, one would wish to get into the right mood. There is now every reason for this by the way.

Yesterday, a new major Soviet foreign policy initiative was made public which will take the whole disarmament process, and the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva out of a stalemate into which these talks and this process had fallen as a result of the U.S. obstructionist policy.

The Soviet Union proposes to separate the problem of medium medium-range missiles in Europe from a package of issues, to make separate agreements on this and to do so without delay. For such a step there exists not simply the foundation of an accord, but an accord that is in fact ready. You will recall in Reykjavik we put these proposals forward in a package and an accord was reached on this. After Reykjavik, the U.S. Administration asserted the Soviet Union allegedly linked the resolution of all disarmament problems in a single package and for this reason, it was said, there was no progress in this direction. Now, such a premise does not exist. The opportunity exists to rid our common European home within a very short period of time of a significant portion of its nuclear burden.

The assurance has frequently been given in the West that the issue is only about taking the issue of medium-range missiles out of the Reykjavik package. Well, it now remains to be proven that this is indeed the case and support the Soviet initiatives. It is most important that this historical opportunity not be allowed to slip.

Yes, spring has arrived, however, a true springtime warming in the international situation, unfortunately, does not yet exist. Those same forces attempt to disrupt our plans, to heap up new obstructions in the path of weakening international tension. Our reply is clear: We will advance and will, at the same time, strengthen our defense capability.

Last week, a nuclear explosion was conducted in our country. This step, you understand, was made compulsory but not necessary. For 17 and 1/2 months our nuclear test sites had remained silent. Five times, five, we extended the moratorium. The United States responded with 26 explosions in Nevada. It was of course impossible to continue endlessly in this fashion. We are keeping open, and will continue to keep open all doors for honest steps to limit and reduce armaments, as is testified by our latest initiative. We are prepared to make this particular nuclear explosion the last one if, in its turn, the United States ends nuclear tests.

U.S. 'Interested, Cautious'

LD011816 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1711 GMT 1 Mar 87

[Text] Washington, 1 Mar (TASS) -- The proposal put forward by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to examine the question on medium-range missiles in Europe separately from other problems of arms control has been received with interest in the White House said Daniel Howard, deputy press spokesman of the White House. According to our preliminary evaluation, he said, this proposal is a positive development. The United States, he announced, intends to put forward in Geneva proposals "couched in a specific treaty terminology."

At the same time, official representatives of the administration who have obviously been taken unaware by the Soviet proposal have expressed "cautious pessimism" regarding the possibility of the conclusion of an agreement on medium-range missiles in the immediate future. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, they have singled out "many difficulties" in this matter, such as the position of a number of East European countries. Not having asked these countries what their reaction to the Soviet proposal is and having set about speaking on their behalf -- and effectively giving them directions as to how they should "react" -- they are asserting objections in Washington against the conducting of on-site inspections have been recorded in "all five West European countries when U.S. medium-range missiles have been deployed." In the opinion of a number of observers, the administration is finding it increasingly difficult to brush aside Soviet initiatives and has now decided to play the "allies" card in its striving to erect more and more fresh obstacles on the path of progress in arms control.

NEW TIMES INTERVIEWS SAGDEYEV ON DANGERS OF SDI

WA261500 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 7, 23 Feb 87 pp 10-13

[Interview with Roald Sagdeyev, director of USSR Space Research Institute, conducted by NEW TIMES reporters Yevgeniy Alekseyev and Leonid Mlechin, date and place not given: "Strategic Defence Initiative: Chaos Instead of Stability"; first paragraph is newspaper's introduction; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] What is the U.S. after: space shield or space sword? Why isn't the Soviet Union creating its own SDI? NEW TIMES reporters Yevgeniy Alekseyev and Leonid Mlechin put these questions to Roald Sagdeyev, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and director of its Space Research Institute. The interview follows.

Judging from some letters to the editors, not all our readers understand why the Soviet Union objects to SDI. Its advocates put forward extremely plausible arguments in its favour: they believe SDI will bring the world deliverance from nuclear weapons and ensure stability. SDI, they argue, threatens no one -- it is a shield, a defence system....

The purpose of SDI is to provide protection from offensive nuclear missiles, but did not the Reykjavik summit demonstrate the possibility of eliminating such missiles? Both sides being prepared, in principle, to scrap their strategic nuclear arsenals makes so much nonsense of SDI. Supposing nuclear arsenals have been reduced to nought, and one side deploys such a system. This will amount to a serious strategic imbalance.

/Could you please elaborate on that?/

Take one SDI scenario which Edward Teller advocates (incidentally, official support for this scenario was one reason why the U.S. refused to join our nuclear test freeze). It provides for submarines, fitted with special launchers and missiles capable of lifting X-ray lasers to an altitude of 1,000 km, being moved as close to the Soviet Union's borders as possible. The lasers are to go all the way up in a fraction of a minute so as to hit an enemy ICBM before it completes the boost stage. No missile has so far been able to pick up such fantastic lift-off speed. Experts say that supermissiles are needed for the purpose. Each supermissile is to carry an X-ray laser pumped to an energy level high enough to emit X-ray radiation capable of destroying enemy missiles. Such a laser can be pumped only by means of a nuclear explosion, and the SDI programme provides for that.

Nuclear explosions will be set off by warheads similar to those with which nuclear missiles are equipped. SDI calls for a whole fleet of submarines carrying missile-borne X-ray lasers which depend chiefly on nuclear warheads for their action. I wonder how any sober-minded statesman could believe such a system to be just an innocent "safeguard" against a "trigger-happy madman." Altering the trajectories of such missiles so as to hit any ground targets with them is no problem at all.

/And this is just one of the early SDI versions. The current idea is to deploy the whole system in space in advance./

By SDI the U.S. means a large complex of measures, an echeloned system. Some of the missiles are to be deployed in space, and the rest on submarines. The system is also to comprise space elements for target defection and guidance.

/Can't such submarines be monitored?/

What do you mean by monitoring? Ascertaining their existence? The important thing is not so much to keep an eye on these submarines as to make sure that the "launch" button is never pressed.

/Supposing an international inspection is authorized to check every such laser device for a nuclear warhead!/

Nuclear warheads are necessary for an X-ray laser.

/What if such an inspection restricts these nuclear warheads to sizes that rule out the possibility of their being used as an offensive weapon?/

Any nuclear warhead can be used as an offensive weapon.

/Can the computer programming of these missiles' trajectories be brought under control?/

This is absolutely impossible. By checking a programme once we shall achieve nothing: after the checkers have gone, the programme can be altered immediately. Modern computers owe their versatility to being reprogrammable. This is just one of the numerous problems that virtually defy solution, such as the problem of confidence, the problem of reprogramming, the problem of control. Why all this fuss about the space shield, one may ask. Haven't parties concerned already expressed their readiness to give up their strategic nuclear arms? What's the use of a "safeguard" then? What is there to safeguard oneself against?

/Well, there are three other nuclear powers, and about ten countries capable of getting hold of nuclear weapons./

Let us take a look at the road to a non-nuclear world outlined in the Soviet proposals, as for instance the programme put forward on January 15, 1986. All the concrete schemes for making the world nuclear-free envisage a stage-by-stage process involving these three and other nuclear powers.

/What about those which have not joined the nuclear club yet but are knocking at the door?/

The all-round Soviet proposals presuppose a still stricter abidance by the letter and spirit of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The dismantling of nuclear warheads, multiple warhead vehicles and the entire nuclear-weapon assembly line is to be carried out under international control. This naturally applies to the countries which have no nuclear warheads so far but are about to get hold of them.

/And what if we suggest a compromise to the Americans: you don't go ahead with the deployment of an SDI system with first-strike capability, and we make strategic defence arrangements of our own? This will result in two shields which will threaten no one and guarantee either side against any attack. What would you say to those readers who think the U.S.S.R. is making a mistake by not developing its own version of the SDI system?/

Two SDI systems would devour whatever stability remained in the world twice as fast. "SDI versus SDI' symmetry would be extremely precarious and dangerous. Theoretically speaking, the side which got ahead of the other "competitor in the race" might feel tempted to make a preemptive strike. This is a convincing enough argument against this option and in favour of alternative ones. Today we can say that asymmetry in this matter would make for a higher degree of reliability, and for a more stable configuration.

/In other words, no space-based ABM systems offers the hope of maintaining stability, is that right? Consequently, even if nuclear weapons are eliminated SDI will not make the world any safer, will it?/

The combination of SDI and offenseive nuclear arms is clearly an explosive mixture. But SDI in a non-nuclear world is another matter. [paragraph continues]

Whether space systems armed with high-power free-electron or chemical lasers instead of nuclear-pumped ones can be an element of strategic equation or not is a problem that needs serious study. As I see it, in a non-nuclear world depending for its balance on ground-based conventional weapon systems, the existence of exotic orbital arms capable of hitting control centres with pinpoint accuracy would be a powerful destabilizing factor. In case of war, these arms -- albeit non-nuclear -- would give their owner a considerable advantage from the start.

/You mean..../

I mean the advantage of being able to use space-to-earth offensive weapons. Judging from the concrete SDI scenarios now being discussed by American militarymen, scientists and politicians, almost all versions of the system are to include offensive weapons.

/What kind of weapons, specifically?/

Lasers, for instance. The atmosphere is opaque to an X-ray laser beam, but transparent to an optical laser beam.

/Won't the beam disperse in the atmosphere?/

It will, but to a negligible extent. One of the SDI options provides for ground lasers which hit space targets (missiles, for instance) either directly, or on the earth-to-space-to-space principle, meaning that a ground laset's beam is trained on a space mirror which turns in such a way as to bounce the beam off to a target.

/You say that an X-ray laser beam disperses in the atmosphere. Surely this makes it unfit for use as an offensive weapon. Is it of any danger then?/

The X-ray laser is included in the strategic equation as an anti-retaliation element. The X-ray laser destroys strategic missiles, the potential detettents. You can hit the other side and parry the retaliatory strike by means of the X-ray laser. Defensive and offensive weapons are organically connected, and this interconnection is inseverable. You can use one and the same device both to beat back an attack, and to attack. The X-ray laser is a case in point.

/On the one hand, SDI is described as a threat to peace; on the other, the very feasibility of a space defence system -- and its efficacy, if it ever comes about -- is being called in question. Isn't there a contradiction here?/

Most analysts believe that SDI will not be of help in achieving strategic superiority, because countermeasures will be taken. Modern science and military technology guarantee this. A direct countermeasure would be a simple buildup of offensive potential. It will cost much less to increase the number of nuclear missiles than to set up a defence system. The latest advances in science and technology can be embodied in offensive weapons as well. Strategic equilibrium can be restored this way, but its price will be still more nuclear weapons around, an added risk of a nuclear conflict breaking out in a critical situation, and lower overall strategic stability.

Therefore when we say we are not afraid of SDI we mean it's impossible to gain any unilateral advantage by means of SDI. [paragraph continues]

But as entirely new components of the strategic balance equation appear, the balance will become still more precarious, and all countries -- the U.S. included -- will be less secure.

You say that SDI is an illusion, but the Americans do not regard its as such. Why is the U.S. so eager to set up an ABM system?

I happen to have discussed this problem with Americans from all walks of life: servicemen and scientists, politicians and public figures. Most of them told me they regarded the hope of achieving superiority through SDI as a dangerous illusion. Why then do generals and politicians hang on to this programme?

American political life is like a pendulum, with public opinion intermittently swinging from one extreme to the other. This happens chiefly on account of those who are in no position to weigh all the pros and cons on their own. They are not to blame for that because their ideas are formed largely under the influence of the mass media. There was a period when most Americans thought the world had stockpiled more weapons than was good for it, and it was time to reach an agreement with the Russians. That was followed by another swing of the pendulum. The point is that quite a few people in America have a financial interest in military programmes.

I am certain, of course, that even in the military-industrial complex there are sober-minded people who are not at all eager to unleash a war. Their reasoning is probably as follows: mankind has been living with nuclear weapons for forty years, but war has not broken out because both sides know -- the button must not be pushed. So if there is still a chance of cashing in on arms manufacturing -- well, why not? Unfortunately, a more serious analysis of things is still beyond them.

These people constitute only a fraction of American society. All right, the military-industrial complex is concerned exclusively with profit. But what about statesmen, Congressmen, the administration?

American political life is governed by rather complicated laws. There is no simple formula that makes it possible to predict what Congress will do, and whether it will come to terms with the administration in any particular case. But you must always bear economic factors in mind. The prospect of having military installations built in its territory and getting munitions orders (which mean more jobs) may look attractive to certain electoral constituencies. The circles connected with the arms manufacturing companies and the army are a politically organized force. There are numerous think thanks like the Heritage Foundation busy inculcating in people the need for the technological arms race.

General Daniel Graham, author of the notorious book "High Frontier" (lauded to the skies by the Heritage Foundation) on setting up a space-based ABM system, wrote that the task of the current administration was to make the SDI programme irreversible.

The advocates of SDI are inviting us to join in. In doing so they are acting from pragmatic motives. How can you admit in public that a nuclear war is impossible -- and stimulate investment in the development of new military programmes at the same time? The best way is to point to a potential enemy and scream: look, he's building up a space defence system! And if he does not want to do so, to try and persuade him by any means, even by promisses of passing on the latest in high technology to him.

And now, our magazine's traditional question: on what, in your opinion, should international stability rest in a nuclear-free world?

It will be possible to find concrete ways of maintaining stability in a world where only conventional weapons remain. This is not going to be an easy matter, of course. What should we -- all of us on earth -- fear most? The problems that will certainly spill over to a nuclear-free world or one day being blown sky-high together?

Those who deal with problems of strategy will have something to think about when probing for the right path towards a nuclear-free world. The process of reducing the present level of nuclear confrontation to zero will pass through numerous intermediate stages: the number of nuclear warheads will continue to diminish, and certain kinds of weapons will disappear altogether. Each stage should be well balanced. The first step, to be taken by the two great powers only, is to cut their nuclear forces by half. The next tasks will be to draw the rest of the nuclear powers into the global nuclear disarmament process, and to maintain stability at each stage so as to preserve equilibrium.

One school of thought -- to which Henry Kissinger belongs, for instance -- maintains that the fewer nuclear weapons, the greater the danger of critical situations. Kissinger believes that a high level of nuclear armament guarantees greater stability. Robert McNamara takes a different view. He thinks that 500 warheads apiece (preferably single rather than multiple) are enough to ensure stability. Other experts are of the opinion that an intermediate level of minimum deterrence requires only a few dozen warheads.

Just ten warheads or so, instead of the 10,000 stockpiled to date, would be enough to deter a potential warmonger. Those who insist on the further, stockpiling of nuclear weapons argue that nuclear missile systems may misfire, and therefore reserves are needed. Even the Challenger disaster has failed to convince me of that. The rate of failure of modern space weapons can be calculated. Information on the propensity of nuclear warhead control systems to malfunctions is less readily available but it follows from the discussions over the past year of the problem of a nuclear test ban that experts are pretty sure the electronic systems or any other warhead components are unlikely to malfunction in combat. As for the means of delivery, statistics pertaining to the use of modern space technology tell us that some missiles occasionally fail to take off, develop engine trouble, and so forth -- but such cases are few and far between. All the more so as the armed forces use thoroughly tested and reliable systems. In peacetime, however, even an isolated incident can spark off a nuclear war. This is a terrible price to pay for the buildup of enormous nuclear arsenals.

Won't the scrapping of nuclear weapons give an impetus to the development of new arms?

The proposal of January 15, 1986, links the changeover to a nuclear-free world with banning other weapons of mass destruction. If mankind proves able to implement this changeover, this will pave the way for the appropriate control arrangements all along the line, from the research stage on. After all, there does exist a convention banning all kinds of research connected with the development of biological weapons.

The climate of mutual trust would be most welcome, of course. But even if we fail to create such a climate, we must reach an agreement, because we have a common goal, survival, which calls for the elimination of nuclear weapons. [paragraph continues]

The U.S. and ourselves face the same horrible enemy, we are companions in distress, chained together and confined to the same cell. It is not at all necessary for the Americans and us to love each other; it is enough to realize that our two nations will survive provided we reach an agreement, even if we are only guided by the instinct for self-preservation.

Shan't we confront, some time in the future, the need to set up a space shield to protect us from, say, extraterrestrial aggressors or from large meteorites?

The changes of a very large heavenly body falling on the earth are rather slim. Such events occur very seldom. A scientific hypothesis has it that an enormous swarm of comets and asteroids invades the environment of the sun, our solar system included, once every 25 billion years. What ensues is a merciless bombardment of plants causing ecological catastrophes. It was probably such a catastrophe that exterminated the dinosaurs. Mankind has ten million years or so to prepare for such an "attack." I hope we shall cope with the problem of SDI earlier than that because the danger it poses is much more immediate. Illustrastions from CAMBIO 16 (Spain), TIME (U.S.A.) and the book "Weaponry in Space: The Dilemma of Security" (U.S.S.R.).

[The following caption accompanies a photo and chart:

The SDI system will comprise mostly laser weapons to be used against missiles and ground targets. American scientists are now working on four types of laser:
-- hydrogen fluoride chemical lasers;
-- free-electron lasers;
-- excimer lasers (using chemical compounds of inert gases in an unstable excited state as the active medium). The beams emitted by these ground-mounted laser are to be trained upon enemy targets by means of a system of space-based mirrors;
-- nuclear-bomb-pumped X-ray lasers (see chart: 1 -- nuclear bomb; 2 -- laser rods; 3 -- tracking telescope; 4 -- targeting and propulsion unit). These lasers have a special role to play in carrying out the SDI programme.]

GORBACHEV PLEDGES TO STAY OUT OF 'IRANGATE ROW'

AU271821 Paris AFP in English 1812 GMT 27 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, Feb 27 (AFP) -- Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev pledged Friday not to get involved in the row over U.S. arms sales to Iran, according to visit Italian Foreign Minister Guilio Andreotti.

Mr. Andreotti said the Soviet leader talked of his desire for "real dialogue" with Washington, and said contact with the United States and with President Ronald Reagan should not be broken off.

Mr. Andreotti said that during his visit to Moscow and during earlier talks in Washington he had found that most officials in both capitals genuinely wanted a dialogue on key issues.

He also talked of proposals for an international conference on peace in the Middle East, saying that it should be carefully prepared, as it would only serve to increase tension if it failed.

On Friday Mr. Andreotti and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze took part in the opening ceremony for the Soviet Academy of Science's "global laboratory", which the Soviet news agency TASS described as "a new form of international scientific co-operation...for peaceful ends."

DAILY ON 'IRANGATE', REAGAN'S 'TROUPE'

PM271315 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Undated dispatch by own correspondent L. Koryavin under the "We Follow Events" rubric: "They are Rushing To Save Themselves"]

[Text] Washington -- The White House looks like some kind of secluded private house now on Pennsylvania Avenue. The country's chief residence seems to have isolated itself from political life. The U.S. President has not been meeting with the press for a long time now.

Meanwhile events are still taking place in the White House.

President Reagan, THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, has said he, "as an old actor, wants to keep the best troupe for the final act." The troupe is obviously disintegrating. Officials are leaving the White House one after the other. Many do not conceal the fact they are rushing to move to cozy niches in corporations before new peals of thunder resound over the White House and they find themselves among the ranks of the compromised.

The final act -- the last 2 years of President Reagan's term -- is being played out by the troupe without enthusiasm, in lackluster monologues with the theater lights which are picking out only empty stage sets from the darkness. There is no way the White House can recover from the "Irangate" scandal. The newspaper headlines are notable: "Depression in the White House," "Chaos on High." Observers agree "the administration's ability to take vigorous action has been undermined. It is unable to find a way out of the serious political impasses." Criticism is being heard increasingly loudly in Congress against the President who, it is emphasized there, "is incapable of managing not only the country but also his own apparatus." It is believed the political confusion will be intensified by the report which is about to be published by the special commission on "Irangate" headed by former Republican Senator Tower.

As Robert Byrd, leader of the Senate Democratic majority, has pointed out, "a well orchestrated campaign of lies and deceit aimed at concealing the President's role in the Iran-contras deal" is being played out in the White House. Donald Regan, leader of the White House staff apparatus, is being subjected to particularly strong attacks in the press and among political circles.

It is not only the President but also the prestige of the entire Republican Party which is threatened in connection with the unseemly actions in the international arena. The party's strategists are now trying to safeguard its prestige. They have produced a tactical formula: trading Regan's fall for the saving of Reagan and the saving of the face of the entire "Reagan era".

Other life belts are also being thrown to the Republican administration. On the propaganda plan more frequent mention has started to be made of the fact that other countries also allegedly sell arms to Iran. The Republic of South Africa, Chile, Brazil, and Spain are cited, for instance. No one ventures to dispute this deal violated congressional statutes.

Moreover, one more sensational expose has occurred in Washington. ABC television has conducted an investigation and established that U.S. officials at the highest levels, together with South African leaders elaborated a joint plan to ensure military aid to the Nicaraguan "contras." For 3 years the United States carried out an operation codenamed "Vest Pocket." On the U.S. side it was headed by former CIA chief Casey who, ABC reported, made a secret visit to Pretoria. The exact date of the visit -- 6 March 1986 -- was also established.

TASS: Allies in 'Irangate'

LD020750 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- TASS news analyst Sergey Kulik writes: The more details come to surface in the "Iran-contras" affair the more obvious it becomes that the position of a number of countries, above all NATO member countries, on the question of arms supplies to Iran barely differs from that of the USA.

One could learn from a recent programme by BBC, for example, that Britain had supplied Tehran with "blow-up" missiles. The American ABC company reprted that France, which claimed it did not sell arms to Iran, had been supplying it with 105mm and 208mm shells, made by the French company Luchaire, since 1983. Spain is another country which dissociates itself from having any arms deals with the Iranian side.

ABC, however, managed to take hold of a document which indicated that 12 ships transported explosives and a wide range of weapons from Spain to Iran in 1986. ABC notes that another 17 ships -- French, West German or Spanish -- left one of the Belgian ports for Iran carrying armaments. The Stockholm newspaper DAGENS NYHETER disclosed that Dutch and Belgian companies were involved in covert arms shipments to Iranian ports.

However, the most active "allies in Irangate" were those governments which made terrorism a norm of their foreign policy activity. It applies in the first place to the Tel Aviv and Pretoria regimes.

Information assembled by U.S. congressmen investigating the "Irangate" scandal indicates that Hawk antiaircraft missiles, supplied by the U.S. National Security Council, reached Iran through Israel.

The newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST making this disclosure announced that the Congressmen received a 30-page report from a CIA pilot. The newspaper DAGENS NYHETER came to the most obvious conclusion that Israel played a key role in the "Irangate."

Recently the American ABC network made sensational disclosures revealing the role of racist-ruled South Africa in covert arms supplies to Iran and diversion of profits to Nicaraguan contras. The TV company found out that the South African air company, SAFAIR, known to have close links with the U.S. South Air Transport Company controlled by CIA, was used to airlift arms to Somosizts.

Thankful for Pretoria services the USA made large sums of money, earned in through these shady dealings, available to anti-Angolan UNITA bands. A year ago the Reagan administration decided to allocate for these terrorists, supported by South Africa, 15 million dollars. However, according to U.S. news analysts, hundreds of millions of dollars were involved in the "Irangate" operation which CIA helped to deposit on secret accounts in Swiss banks. The "Irangate" resembles an iceberg whose true dimensions only start to become clear....

IGNATYEV ON WHITE HOUSE 'BLUNDERS', REGAN

LD280653 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2345 GMT 27 Feb 87

["Resignation of the White House Chief of Staff" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Washington 28 Feb (TASS) -- Igor Ignatyev, a TASS correspondent, reports: The White House officially announced Friday the resignation of the White House chief of staff, Donald Regan, who under President Reagan played the role of "shadow prime minister." A special Reagan statement issued on this matter says he had accepted Regan's resignation, which became effective immediately, "with regret."

The early withdrawal from government service of this influential figure is a direct result of the undiminished "Iran-contras" scandal, which has provoked the Reagan administration's most serious crisis. In the Tower Commission report, which was published on Thursday, and which investigated the role of the National Security Council in the secret operation to supply arms to Iran and transfer part of the money obtained thereby to the Nicaraguan contras, Regan comes in for a large share of the responsibility for having been unable "to shield the President" from the devastating consequences of the uncovering of the secret White House affair.

In the past few weeks the White House chief of staff has been under increasing pressure as demands for his resignation came not only from Reagan's close advisers, but also from the leaders of the republicans in the Congress. As the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR newspaper stresses, "Republicans, worried over the effect of the Iran affair on the results of the 1988 election, have stepped up their campaign against the White House chief of staff after it became known that President Reagan changed his testimony before the Tower Commission at his insistence."

Regan's resignation is, of course, not explained just by the major U.S. foreign policy fiasco created by the disclosure of the "Iran-contras" operation. In the past 2 years that Reagan has been at the base of power in the White House, the Washington administration has scored only very mediocre successes, both on the home and international fronts.

The list of White House blunders and failures, especially in the foreign policy sphere, significantly tilts the balance. They include the scandalous publicity around President Reagan's visit in 1985 to the SS cemetery in the West German town of Bitburg; the genuine shock that reverberated in the press and Congress over the revelations of the misinformation campaign against Libya; the complete absence of progress in the field of disarmament and the steps taken by the administration to breach the existing treaty system on arms control; the shock of the meeting in Reykjavik, which, the words of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, ended embarrassingly for the administration, "and with a surge in criticism of the President for being insufficiently prepared and for the absence of consultations with the American Allies." Now, to cap it all, the "Iran-contras" scandal, which, like a spotlight, has lit up the essence of the policy of the present administration and led to a serious erosion of trust in the United States.

The blunders that have come one after another -- particularly "Irangate" which has got out of control of the White House -- have aroused evident embarrassment and perplexity in the administration. "The main source of hostility towards Regan," noted THE WASHINGTON TIMES, a paper close to the administration, "has been the inability of the chief of the White House staff to protect Reagan from accusations that his administration is wallowing in chaos and is taking steps to conceal the truth." As the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR has noted, "despite all the criticism of Reagan, political observers are stressing the responsibility for what is happening in the White House lies with the President, who sets the policy and appoints his aides." Therefore, the decision on the resignation of Reagan was taken in a clear attempt to get the President out from under the fire of heavy criticism.

The new White House chief of staff is former Senator Howard Baker. As the President has stated, Baker will take up his duties at the start of next week. According to a report by the CNN television company, he has been given a "free hand" to reorganize the White House staff. Local observers are predicting a fresh wave of resignations from administration officials and major changes in the President's staff.

REAGAN WITH REPUBLICANS ON TOWER REPORT

LD281951 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 28 Feb 87

[Text] Washington February 28 TASS -- The White House quickly set about drawing up tactics to "rescue" President Reagan and restore the damaged creditability of his administration following the "Irangate" scandal. To this end Reagan held a meeting with the Republican Party leaders in the Congress on Friday at which he discussed the Tower Commission report which investigated the circumstances of this notorious political scandal.

Statements by congressmen made after the meeting ended reflected open concern over the fact that the "Irangate" dealt a blow to the whole institute of Presidential power and that the Tower Commission report did not mean an end to the scandal.

The Senate Republican minority leader, Robert Dole, admitted that the report did not close the case of clandestine deliveries of U.S. arms to Iran and diversion of receipts to Nicaraguan contras. According to the senator, it touched only part of the case. He believed that the "Irangate" scandal would continue for some time. Robert Dole confirmed that resignations of other highly placed officials in the administration should be expected soon following the resignation of the White House chief of staff, Donald Regan.

GORBACHEV, FASTING SCIENTIST EXCHANGE 'SUPPORT'

LD281544 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 28 Feb 87

[Text] Washington February 28 TASS -- American scientist Charles Hyder, who is holding "a fast for peace" in Lafayette Park across the road from the White House for the 159th Day, has received a message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The message said, among other things:

"We in Moscow highly value your courageous actions, your willingness to accept an act of self-sacrifice in the name of stopping the nuclear arms race.

"Your voice in defense of humanity's self-preservation has been heard by millions of people, including in the Soviet Union. Your spiritual strength is needed to continue the struggle for preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

"For this reason we urge you to stop your hunger strike and we also invite you to come for treatment and rest to the Soviet Union."

Most grateful for the Soviet leader's message, the U.S. anti-war activist said in a return letter: "Your generous and compassionate communique was warmly received, and I am flattered that you took the time."

Hyder then reiterated his commitment to the goals of his campaign, which are to make sure that the U.S. Government takes practical steps towards destroying nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and renouncing a policy of military intervention.

He said U.S. media had prevented the truth about those demands getting to the American people but he was determined to continue fasting "until the conditions to end the fast are granted by the U.S. Government."

"I can only thank you again and communicate my happiness and admiration for the new directions that the Soviet Union has been taking in recent years," Hyder said in conclusion, adding: "You have an enthusiastic supporter in me. Health, happiness and good luck."

The American leadership, meanwhile, keeps ignoring the "fast for peace" declared by a U.S. citizen and coldbloodedly dooming him to death by its stubborn reluctance to make any moves to stop the nuclear arms race.

A White House official spokesman, who asked not to be identified, told a TASS correspondent that the administration "has not yet taken a stand" on Hyder's hunger strike.

The spokesman added that he had "never heard" anybody in the White House discuss the fate of the scientist fasting in the park across the road and that he doubted the White House would ever have any reaction to Hyder's protest action.

Representative Ronald Dellums said in a special statement that two American nationals, separated by less than a hundred meters, today were facing the challenge to defend the principles they believed must underlie international relations and that the two were the U.S. President and astrophysicist Hyder fasting in protest against the administration's nuclear policies.

Dellums said the sad fact was that verifiable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union were a feasible reality at the recent meeting in Reykjavik but the U.S. Administration had preferred carrying on and scaling up the nuclear arms race to embarking on mutual and verifiable cuts in strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.

JOSEPH CLARK 'ACCLAIMS' GORBACHEV'S NEW PROPOSAL

LD020658 Moscow TASS in English 0635 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] Ottawa March 2 TASS -- Canadian Foreign Minister Joseph Clark acclaimes the proposal contained in the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central committee. To single out the issue of medium-range missiles in Europe and to conclude immediately a separate agreement on it. A statement by the minister ciruclated on Sunday contains a call on the Soviet Union and the USA to conduct negotiations on this proposal in a "constructive spirit". In Clark's opinion, the achievement of an agreement without delay on Euro-missiles and the revival of the process of top-level meetings would help improve East-West relations and would give an important impetus to other arms control negotiations.

SHEVARDNADZE RECEIVES AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR

LD261751 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS -- Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR foreign minister, today received Edward Pocock, the ambassador of Australia to the Soviet Union.

The ambassador conveyed to Shevardnadze a verbal message from Australia's foreign minister in connection with the forthcoming visit of the Soviet foreign minister to Australia.

The sides also discussed some matters pertaining to Soviet-Australian relations.

SHEVARDNADZE DEPARTS ON ASIA-PACIFIC TOUR

LD011912 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 1 Mar 87

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, has left Moscow today for a tour of a number of countries of the Asian-Pacific region. He will pay official visits to Australia, Indonesia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

He was seen off at the airport by Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Korvalev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and other officials.

USSR POLICY IN PACIFIC REGION DISCUSSED

LD282014 Moscow World Service in English 1531 GMT 28 Feb 87

[Dialogue by two unidentified announcers]

[Excerpts] [First speaker] Today we'll deal with an event widely discussed by the mass media in the countries of the Pacific region. The Soviet minister for foreign affairs, Eduard Shevardnadze, will visit Australia early in March. He is expected to hold talks with Robert Hawke and William Hayden. The talks will range from Soviet-Australian relations to the overall situation in the Pacific.

[Second speaker] All the news agencies in the world have reported this.

[First speaker] True enough, but look at the way they've treated the subject of the talks. The ASSOCIATED PRESS says the talks are expected to cover the growing Soviet presence in the South Pacific and fishing rights in the area. In another report, this from Tokyo, it says Ronald Hays, commander in chief of the United States Navy's Pacific Forces, told the U.S. Congress recently that the United States now maintains a firm upper hand in the Pacific. See the link between the two reports? Doesn't it look as if the United States is trying to conceal its own expansion in the region by insinuating there's a Soviet threat? The State Secretary George Shultz has admitted that since 1981 there's been a sharp increase in the American presence in the Pacific.

Already there's an armed force there second to none but the force the United States keeps in Europe.

[Second speaker] It seems to me two of the three United States Marine divisions are stationed there.

[First speaker] Right. And besides, according to official figures, the United States is keeping there over 400,000 servicemen, more than 1,500 combat aircraft, and 230 warships of various sizes and over 80 percent of these ships carry nuclear weapons. The NEW YORK TIMES reported this last August. Also, more than 3,000 nuclear charges are stored at the United States bases in the Pacific region. [passage omitted]

[First speaker] It's no mere chance that the Pentagon is stepping up activities in the Pacific. The Pacific and the Far East in particular are seen by American strategists as the most probable theater in a future war against the Soviet Union. All these preparations are excused by the notorious cry: The Russians are coming! And that cry, though the Russians haven't yet come in all the long years it has been used, becomes louder whenever a protest is voiced in the Pacific region, not against the mythical, bloodthirsty Russians but against those who are saturating the Pacific region with weapons. When protest is running high nothing is too small to distract attention, not even the fish mentioned by the ASSSOCIATED PRESS as a prospective subject of negotiations between the Soviet foreign minister and his Australian counterpart.

[Second speaker] You mean the row over the fishing agreement between the Soviet Union and Kiribati?

[First speaker] Exactly. As soon as the Soviet Union bought a fishing license from Kiribati for about a million and a half dollars Washington raised a hue and cry, claiming the deal was evidence of Soviet military expansion. Under cover of this clamor the United States is building up a strategic bridgehead near our eastern borders and whatever interferes with its plans it simply sweeps aside.

[Second speaker] Including the Rarotonga Treaty?

[First speaker] Yes, including the Rarotonga Treaty which the United States refuses to recognize.

[Second speaker] But the Soviet Union also made a reservation (?when it signed) the protocol.

[First speaker] The reservation concerns those clauses that permit breaches of the nuclear free zone status. As for the United States, it has rejected the treaty outright because the creation of nuclear free zones runs counter to its global strategy.

[Second speaker] It seems Shevardnadze and Hawke will be discussing the Rarotonga Treaty, too.

[First speaker] Let's not anticipate events. I'm sure our foreign minister will clarify our Pacific policy during his talks in Australia. I mean the policy proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok last summer when he unveiled a plan to demilitarize the region by eliminating nuclear weapons, reducing naval activities, and building up an atmosphere of trust, among other measures. The plan also contained support for creating nuclear fee zones. Anyway, Eduard Shevardnadze's pending visit to Australia is a move to promote a climate of trust in the Pacific.

SOLOVYEV VISITS LIBYA FOR CELEBRATIONS

LD011032 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 1 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow, 1 Mar (TASS) -- Yuriy Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom today flew to Tripoli. At the invitation of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah (SPLAJ), he will take part in events dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the declaration of people's power in this country.

Further Reportage

For reports on the visit by Yuriy Solovyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Lengingrad Obkom first secretary, to the Libyan celebrations in Sabha of the 10th anniversary of the declaration of people's power and the birth of the first jamahiriyah in history see the North Africa section of the 2 March Middle East & Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

TATLIYEV MAKES OFFICIAL VISIT TO SUDAN

PM271147 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Tass report: "Strengthening Relations"]

[Text] Khartoum, 25 Feb -- Sudan is seeking to establish stronger and closer ties with the Soviet Union and to put right the negative aspects in relations between the two countries that have occurred in the past, Ahmad 'Ali al-Mirghani, chairman of the Sudanese Supreme Council, declared.

Receiving the Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by S.B. Tatliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is visiting here, he noted with satisfaction that people in the USSR correctly understand the democratic transformations taking place in Sudan and support the policy of the new Sudanese leadership.

We are seeking, A. 'A. al-Mirghani said, to pursue a balanced policy which accords most fully with the principles of the Nonaligned Movement. Sudan supports the national liberation movements of Africa and the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine headed by the PLO for the restoration of their legitimate rights. In this regard the chairman of the Sudanese Supreme Council noted the identical nature of the views of the Soviet and Sudanese leadership on the Near East problem. The convening of an international conference involving all the interested sides, he pointed out, is the most acceptable way to begin settling the conflict. Touching on the situation in the country, A. 'A. al-Mirghani said that Sudan's economy is going through a difficult crisis inherited from the previous regime. We are trying to overcome this crisis with the help of our friends, including the Soviet Union, he said in conclusion.

Pacifico Lado Lolek, member of the Sudanese Supreme Council, who was present at the meeting, voiced confidence that the Soviet parliamentary delegation's visit to Khartoum will serve the cause of further strengthening relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Sudan. He hailed the USSR's peaceful foreign policy initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race.

Addresses Sudanese Parliament

LD182311 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 18 Feb 87

[Text] Khartoum February 18 TASS -- The official visit to Sudan by the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Suleyman Tatliev, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is going on.

The Soviet delegation attended a session of the constituent assembly (parliament) where Suleyman Tatliev made a speech. He acquainted those present with the Soviet Union's plans for acceleration of social and economic development, related measures further to refine the current process of democratic transformations taking place in Soviet society, and explained the Soviet Union's positions on a number of international problems, drawing special attention of the deputies to the efforts being made by the Soviet Union in the work for cessation of the arms race, elimination of nuclear weapons, and the removal of the danger of nuclear war.

"The speech made in Sudanese parliament by the Soviet representative", Izeddin 'Ali Amer, leader of the Democratic opposition in parliament, said at the session of the Sudanese constituent assembly, "is in itself an event which could not take place under the dictatorial regime. This is also a manifestation of attention with which the Sudanese people follow the changes taking place in the USSR and of our support for the Soviet peace proposals".

'Ali Osman Mohammed Taha, leader of the Islamic opposition, spoke of an important role which the Soviet Union plays in the solution of problems that are of concern to the whole of mankind, and of the USSR's efforts aimed at counteracting the threat of an outbreak of nuclear war.

Delegation Returns To Moscow

PM271345 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 87 p 4

[TASS report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] The official visit to the Republic of Sudan by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by S.B. Tatliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has ended. The visit was at the invitation of the Sudanese parliament.

An agreement was reached on continuing parliamentary contacts between the USSR and Sudan. The Sudanese side was given an invitation to send a delegation from the constituent assembly (parliament) to the USSR.

On 25 February the delegation returned to Moscow.

At the airport the delegation was met by A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, and other officials.

DEMICHEV RECEIVES TUNISIAN AMBASSADOR GHERAB

PM181651 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Envoy Received"]

[Text] On 13 February P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received M.H. Gherab, Tunisian ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request in connection with his imminent departure for home.

Issues relating to bilateral Soviet-Tunisian relations were discussed during the conservation, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, as well as a number of topical international problems.

Gherab Leaves Moscow

LD011538 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 1 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS -- Mohamed Habib Gherab, ambassador of the Republic of Tunisia to the USSR, left Moscow today.

ANGOLAN PARTY PROPAGANDISTS VISIT 1-10 FEB

PM131135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT], an Angolan party delegation headed by Paulino Pinto Juao chief of the MPLA-PT Central Committee Information and Propaganda Section, was in the Soviet Union 1-10 February. Meetings and conversations took place at the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department and International Department TASS, and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The delegation toured Tallinn and Leningrad. The guests highly appraised the CPSU's experience in information and propaganda work.

Director Visits Estonia

MB071512 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 7 Feb 87

[Text] Comrade Paulino Pinto Joao, director of the party Central Committee Department for Information and Propaganda [DIP], visited the Estonian SSR a few days ago. In Estonia's capital, Talinn, Comrade Paulino Pinto Joao and his delegation visited a number of enterprises and places of major interest in the city. In a statement to the press, the Central Committee's DIP director said he had noted the people of that (?soviet) republic were ready to cooperate with the People's Republic of Angola and assist in solving some of the problems facing our country. The Angolan delegation was received at the headquarters of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

VOICE OF ISRAEL INTERVIEWS GENNADIY GERASIMOV

TA191812 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1705 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Text] Our political editor Gid'on Remez has had the opportunity to interview the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, who agreed to be interviewed by the Voice of Israel, first on the issue of Iosif Begun and later on political issues:

[Begin recording] [Remez] The surprising thing about this interview, a thing which would have been inconceivable 2 years ago, was not only the fact that Gerasimov agreed to be interviewed by the Voice of Israel, but also that the Soviet official accepted the unexpected call from Jerusalem and immediately agreed to be interviewed, without any need for consultations or approval from above. The relaxed tone, the humor, the recognition of a rival point of view -- this is all new. However, there was nothing new in the content of his remarks. Are we to regard Begun's release and the reexamination of more cases of prisoners of Zion as an attempt to fulfill Israel's condition for an international conference on the Middle East with Soviet participation? It turns out that Gerasimov is very well-informed about the controversies among Israeli leaders, as well as about Prime Minister Shamir's talks in the United States:

[Gerasimov -- in English] You don't want it. You don't want this international peace conference. I understand there was a kind of a quarrel in Washington yesterday or the day before yesterday, just about this conference idea. You prefer the bilateral approach.

[Remez -- translate Gerasimov remarks into Hebrew and continues] I asked Gerasimov: Foreign Minister Peres said Israel would agree to a conference if the gates are opened. Gerasimov said this condition is a pretext because the gates are open, but only a few people want to leave. Are the recent moves meant to improve relations with Israel? I asked him. Gerasimov said that rapprochement depends on Israel's attitude toward international agreements and the security council decisions:

[Gerasimov -- in English] We can begin to talk about better relations if and when Israel stops aggression against the Arab nations, as we see. You don't see it in this light, but we do. [end recording]

GERASIMOV INTERVIEWED ON IMMIGRATION, EGYPT

TA271935 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1815 GMT 27 Feb 87

[Telephone interview in English with Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov by foreign affairs editor David Witzthum -- videorecorded]

[Text] [Witzthum] Mr Gerasimov, good day to you.

[Gerasimov] Good day to you. What happened this time?

[Witzthum] We are currently in the process of reviewing the happenings in the Soviet Union, and I would like to ask you: Are you still reviewing the penal code of the Soviet Uion, including Article 70?

[Gerasimov] A special commission with the representatives from lawyers, from scientists and from administrative bodies is now busy reviewing this penal legislation, and it takes time.

[Witzthum] Would it also lead for more permission for Jews to leave the Soviet Union for Israel?

[Gerasimov] You are provincial in your outlook. You talk about Jews and Jews and Jews. Jews are just one of the nationalities of our country. And this particular legislation is about everybody. They don't mention any nationality at all.

[Witzthum] You, on the other hand, are a mightly nation, a superpower, and we are very interested in your position as to the international conference. What is your latest position about that?

[Gerasimov] I guess it's our idea, isn't it?

[Witzthum] So people say here.

[Gerasimov] So it is our idea, and we would like the permanent members of the Security Council to gather together in a kind of a preparatory committee and to look into the matter and prepare this international conference.

[Witzthum] How do you view the attempts by our foreign minister to try by his latest visit to Egypt to try to bring moderate Arab countries like Egypt and Jordan to the conference table? Do you think it's a good idea?

[Gerasimov] No, this is the wrong way. Because you see, it's divide and rule. I guess the solution can be found only when everybody gets together on this international conference.

[Witzthum] So can you foresee a step like inviting Mr Peres to Moscow to talk there with your leaders about these problems?

[Gerasimov] What for, to talk about this?

[Witzthum] Yes.

[Gerasimov] Let him go to Washington and talk about this with the United States, or let him go to Tel Aviv and talk about this with Mr Shamir.

[Witzthum] Mr Gerasimov, I thank you very much for this interview.

[Gerasimov] Okay, fine.

COMPARISON OF AL-BID SPEECH IN KREMLIN 10 FEB

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 11 February carries in its Second Edition on page 2 a TASS report on the speech by A.S. Al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee, at 10 February Kremlin dinner. The report entitled "Comrade 'A.S. Al-Bid's Speech" has been compared with a TASS report carried in the 12 February First Edition of PRAVDA which was published in the 13 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages H 4-5, revealing the following variations:

Page 4, paragraph seven, line five, second edition PRAVDA reads: Arabs' just cause.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly shown that it is our country's loyal ally in difficult times of trial and a friend on whom our party and people can rely in their striving for the bright vistas of socialism. Party members and all our people's sons are raised in the spirit of sincere devotion to Soviet-Yemeni friendship. We shall continue (supplying passage).

Paragraph seven, last line, 11 February PRAVDA reads: The Soviet leadership, which contribute tothe deepening and broadening of cooperation between our parties and countries in various spheres. We have much work to do to implement the results of the talks and it will be done.

Comrades!
Our visit (supplying passage)

Paragraph nine, lines two-three, 11 February PRAVDA reads: Bloody conspiracy of 13 January organized by (changing "12" to "13".

Page H 5, paragraph six, last line, 11 February PRAVDA reads of socialist orientation.

Comrades!

The present-day international situation is characterized by numerous centers of tension and instability and a grave danger which threatens mankind's security and life itself. This is the result of the aggressive policy pursued by the international imperialist circles headed by the U.S. Administration, a policy which is embodied in the desire to poison the international climate, fuel the arms race, and lead to the militarization of space.

The forces of peace and good will are struggling determinedly against the policy of aggression and expansion and the threat to international peace. The numerous peace initiatives put forward in this spirit by the Soviet Union and the proposals made by you, Comrade Gorbachev, in Reykjavik and Delhi, are meeting with the full support of our country and all who value the cause of peace. These peace initiatives and the new constructive approaches are an embodiment of the Soviet Union's good will and its sincere desire to preserve international peace and rid mankind of the danger of the destruction of modern civilization on earth.

We can rightly say that the different manifestations of tension and instability in the present international situation are interrelated and reflect international imperialism's aggressive aspirations.

The tension fueled by the imperialist circles and conflicts and wars have not bypassed the Near East or the Persian Gulf. There is no doubt that the attainment of a just and all-embracing peace in this region is impossible without the resolution of the complex problems that have accumulated here. They include, in the first place, the recognition of the Palestinian Arab People's inalienable rights to return home, to self-determination, and to the creation of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO -- their sole legitimate representative; the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanese and all other occupied Arab territories; the normalization of the situation in Lebanon and the safeguarding of its independence and unity, the cessation of the armed conflicts throughout its territory, including military actions which threaten the security and life of the population of the Palestinian camps'.

Tremendous harm is being caused to the interests and potential of Iraq and Iran and their peoples by the continuing Iran-Iraq war, which creates a threat to the peace and security of the region as a whole. We opposed this war from the very beginning and firmly supported and continue to support the efforts to end it and settle the differences between the two conflicting sides by peaceful means.

We also want to confirm our (adding paragraphs omitting " Al-Bid went on to say")

Paragraph seven, penultimate line, 11 February PRAVDA reads: In its affairs.

Expressing solidarity with the peoples' just struggle and supporting the peace-loving forces' striving to consolidate security and stability in the world, we condemn all forms of aggressive actions by the imperialist circles, particularly by the U.S. administration, against the sovereignty, independence, and progress of the young developing countries. We confirm our solidarity with Syria, Libya, and Nicaragua, which are staunchly opposing U.S. provocation and threats. We express solidarity with the frontline African countries opposing the South African racist regime, which is supported by U.S. imperialism and its allies. We confirm our solidarity with the Namibian people's struggle for independence and the struggle of all the peoples striving for freedom, progress, and peace.

Comrades!

Permit me (providing additional paragraphs)

PRAVDA: 'INFLAMMATORY' U.S. ROLE IN GULF WAR

PM091535 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 87 First Edition p 7

["Our Commentary" by Yu. Glukhov: "A Senseless War"]

[Text] Fierce battles are raging again on the Iran-Iraq front. Thousands of people are dying. Cities in the two countries are being hit by bombs and missiles. Tank and artillery duels are taking place. Crippled oil tankers are on fire in the Persian Gulf...

The escalation of hostilities has caused grave concern in the Arab countries, and not only there. The "forgotten war," as the Iran-Iraq conflict is sometimes called, has again made itself felt. This reminder appears even more sinister against the background of major U.S. military preparations in the East Mediterranean and Persian Gulf.

Many local observers describe the continuing war as "madness." According to them, the protracted fratricidal war only benefits the two countries' enemies. The paper AL-ITTIHAD, published in the United Arab Emirates, states with bitterness that the serious exacerbation of the conflict and the new bloodshed and devastation are occuring despite calls by Islamic states for an end to the Iran-Iraq war. Moreover, the current escalation is threatening the security not only of the Arab and Islamic countries of the Persian Gulf but of the entire international community. In fact, the increasing armed conflict, it is noted in the Arab world, threatens to extend beyond its local framework.

In the conditions of a sharp increase in tension in the Persian Gulf zone the Arab public is reacting angrily to the series of exposes in connection with the "Irangate" affair, which are evidence of the inflammatory part the United States has played and continues to play in aggravating the situation. As King Husayn of Jordan said in an interview with radio Monte Carlo, in the Arab countries confidence in Washington has plummeted practically to zero. To all appearances, the purpose of the recent "explanatory" trip to the Near East by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State R. Murphy was to restore it. Despite his "explanations," the secret aims of U.S. intrigues in the region are becoming increasingly visible to the Arabs. It was no accident the local press christened Murphy "morphine" for his efforts to lull the Near and Middle East countries' vigilance vis-a-vis U.S. policy.

The U.S. emissary failed to do it. The latest exposes of Washington's interference in the conflict show that, aside from the secret arms supplies to Iran, the United States has been deliberately misinforming each of the warring sides, setting them at each other's throat. As usual, Washington was quick to deny these reports. How many of these "denials" look like nothing more than pitiful subterfuge as the "Irangate" knot is unraveled...

The continuing bloodshed in the Persian Gulf zone and the mutual exhaustion of Iran and Iraq suit U.S. imperialism and the Israeli annexationists down to the ground. This truth is now becoming increasingly obvious to the Arab public. It must be admitted that it has also become too bitter for certain Arab regimes which have been banking on cooperation with the United States.

'TRAGEDY' OF 'LEBANESE-PALESTINIAN INFIGHTING'

PM161515 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 87 First Edition p 5

["Own correspondent" Yu. Glukhov dispatch: "The Tragedy of the Palestinian Camps"]

[Text] Beirut, 14 Feb -- The siege of three Palestinian refugee camps by detachments of the Amal Shi'ite movement, backed up by the 6th Army Brigade, is now in its 4th month. The camps have been surrounded by red earth ramparts that look as if they are covered in blood. Sinister automatic weapon and machinegun rounds stutter out and there is the thud of cannons.

Everything seems monstrous and absurd once you consider the fact that both peoples share a common fate. The Palestinian refugees found refuge in Lebanon after the invasion by Israeli occupation forces, while the Lebanese Shi'ites settled in a number of Beirut suburbs seeking shelter from the Israeli banditry in the south of their country.

A particularly tragic situation has arisen in the Beirut camps as a result of the protracted siege. There are heavy casualties. Approximately 80 percent of Shatila has been destroyed. Sabra and Burj al-Barajinah have suffered severely. The camp inhabitants face the threat of death by starvation.

What, then, is the cause of the Lebanese-Palestinian clashes?

Judging by the numerous statements made by Lebanese leaders, and not just those of the Amal movement, it is the status of Palestinians in Lebanon which is the stumbling block. Under the 1969 Cairo Accord the Palestinians obtained the right to wage political and armed struggle against Israel from Lebanese territory to restore their flouted rights.

Shaykh Qabalan, member of the Amal movement leadership, states the Palestinians should abide by "guest" status and not lay claim to partnership. The liberation of the Palestinian lands, he maintains, can be achieved only by a coordinated Arab military strategy.

The Palestinians' supporters, however, the newspaper AL-NAHAR writes, oppose the abrogation of the Cairo Accord, the disarming of the camps, and the ending of the Palestinian resistance movement's activity. It is not the Palestinian presence, they say, but Israel's far-reaching expansionist plans regarding Lebanon, bound up with U.S. hegemonist aspirations, which form the basis of the continuing intervention and armed interference in Lebanese affairs. The Palestinians cannot remain unarmed in the face of open Israeli aggression.

The idea of restoring the alliance between the national patriotic forces of Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance was again voiced at the Fifth Lebanese Communist Party Congress.

The search for a settlement of the Lebanese-Palestinian infighting continues, but it is advancing agonizingly slowly.

REFUGEES RETURN TO PDRY UNDER AMNESTY DECREE

PM271233 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Refugees Return"]

[Text] Aden, 25 Feb -- More and more groups of refugees who fled Democratic Yemen during the January events of 1986 are returning to the country in accordance with the General Amnesty Decree.

As has become known here, one such group returned to Abian Province. Muhammad al-Sida'i, deputy to the PDRY Supreme People's Council, stated in a speech to his returned countrymen that the country welcomes the return of those who had been misled and will give them an opportunity to participate on an equal footing in the implementation of creative plans. We urge everyone still abroad to return home and join in peaceful building. He stressed that the General Amnesty Decree has been extended to 31 July 1987.

CPSU DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO TANZANIA

PM271131 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Going Home"]

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 23 Feb -- The visit to the United Republic of Tanzania by a CPSU delegation headed by Yu.P. Kochetkov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, has ended.

The delegation familiarized itself with the work experience of Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (CCM) organizations, met with leading party and state figures and representatives of the public, and visited labor collectives at industrial and agricultural enterprises in the republic.

Moses Nauye, member of the CCM Central Committee, expressed a high opinion of relations between the CPSU and the CCM. We will continue to strengthen friendly interparty links and cooperation with Soviet Communists, he stressed.

The CPSU delegation leader gave the CCM an engraved portrait of V.I. Lenin on behalf of Soviet Communists.

Yesterday the CPSU delegation left for home. It was seen off at the airport by D.U. Mzuzuri, member of the CCM National Executive Committee, and senior officials of the party secretariat.

GREETING TELEGRAMS EXCHANGED WITH BURKINA FASO

PM241150 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Burkina Faso, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Burkinabe President T. Sankara exchanged greetings telegrams.

The Soviet side's message notes the fundamentally new opportunities for the fruitful development of bilateral cooperation since the victory of the 4 August 1983 revolution in Burkina Faso, stresses the importance of the recent visit to the USSR by President T. Sankara, and expresses confidence that Soviet-Burkinabe relations will continue to develop for the benefit of both countries' peoples and in the interests of strengthening world peace.

The president of Burkina Faso, for his part, expressed satisfaction at the friendly nature of relations between his country and the Soviet Union, whose people are successfully implementing the ideas of the great Lenin and the October Revolution. T. Sankara stated that the date being marked -- the 20th anniversary of Soviet-Burkinabe relations -- is a confirmation of the unshakable will of the two countries' peoples, united by the noble ideals of peace, justice, and freedom, resolutely to follow the path of increasing mutual understanding, more effective solidarity, and mutually advantageous cooperation.

COMMENTARY ON RULING PARTY MEMBER'S RESIGNATION

MB011404 Moscow in Afrikaans to South Africa 1745 GMT 27 Feb 87

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary: "Why is the Afrikaner Crying?"]

[Text] Until now, I have always considered the Afrikaners a tough people, destined to withstand the trials of adversity. One expected no sentimentality from them. In the books of Andre Brink, Afrikaner heroes never give up hope in spite of all the hardships they encounter. However, recently I read that Afrikaners can cry for the whole country if they sense that something disturbing has happened.

This was said by Pieter Botha after his meeting with MP Wynand Malan. Malan had just told Botha that he was resigning from the National Party ((NP)). The president said there were tears in Malan's eyes when he handed in his resignation. The president spoke in a manner which would have brough tears to the eyes of any Afrikaner. And when I read the statements of the other leading lights of the NP, as the SUNDAY TIMES called them, I believed the president.

Sampie Terreblanche knows the economy of South Africa very well. He analyzes it from facts and figures he receives from reliable sources. Sampie Terreblanche studied at Stellenbosch University and was also an adviser to the minister of planning. However, he reached the uncomfortable conclusion that the South African economy could never develop properly under apartheid. More than any Afrikaner, he well knew how whites feel. The whites are very pesimistic over the future of the country, even though the SABC, of which Terreblanche is deputy chairman, says the opposite. All this has forced this leading light of the NP to publish a statement in the form of an analysis. He states that he is convinced the government has neither the will nor the foresignt to carry out the necessary reforms and that, in fact, there is no plan for reform.

Denis Worrall, the former South African ambassador to London, has reached the same conclusion, as have three professors at Stellenbosch University, the citadel of Afrikanerdom. They has said they are disappointed that the government is not prepared to enter into dialogue with the real leaders of the blacks. One can understand how these people feel after dedicating their whole lives to the NP and having helped to work out the party's strategy. They are now disappointed, and this is why one speaks of tears in their eyes. This is a fact. But they are not tears of bravery or determination. Of course, they could have wept with the blacks, rather than from within the ranks of the NP.

PANAMANIAN DELEGATION ARRIVES IN MOSCOW

PA251840 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 Feb 87

[Text] In Moscow this afternoon, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium welcomed at the airport a group of Panamanian legislators headed by Ovidio Diaz; they are responding to an invitation from that organization.

The members of the delegation will spend 4 days in Moscow, where they will hold working sessions with leaders of the Supreme Soviet and senior officials of the Ministries of Foreign Relations and Commerce. From Moscow, the Panamanian legislators will travel to Leningrad, where they will make other contacts to increase the commercial and cultural relations between the two countries.

Meets Presidium Chairman

PA260404 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 0000 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] Ovidio Diaz, president of the Legislative Assembly, and a delegation of legislators were welcomed today by the CPSU Politburo within the framework of a tour of the USSR to honor a Supreme Court invitation. The Panamanian delegation met today in the Kremlin with Petr Demichev, first deputy chairman of the Presidium. During the meeting, they paid special attention to Soviet foreign policy initiatives. The two sides emphasized the need to establish a new and just international economic order and find a political solution to the conflict in Central America. As a result of this visit, strong rumors circulated today in Miami that Panama will establish diplomatic relations with the USSR. Televisora Nacional investigated and concluded that that statement is completely false.

Further on Meeting

PM271145 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talk Held"]

[Text] On 23 February P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received in the Kremlin a delegation fromm Panama's legislative assembly headed by Ovidio Diaz Vasquez, the parliament's president, which is in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The conversation paid special attention to the Soviet Union's very important foreign policy initiatives contained in the 15 January 1986 statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and to the Soviet Union's proposals put forward during the meeting in Reykjavik.

P.N. Demichev described the course of the fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th party congress and the processes of the restructuring which is encompassing all aspects of the life of Soviet society, stressing that the solution of internal tasks is inextricably linked with the implementation of the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy.

Both sides stressed the need for the establishment of a new, just international economic order and for a political settlement in Central America on the basis of the safeguarding of the security of all countries of the region and respect for their sovereignty, national independence, and right to independent development without outside interference. The Soviet side noted the USSR advocates the peaceful political settlement of the regional crisis in Central America and supports the constructive efforts of the Contadora and Support Group aimed at reaching a settlement in this part of the world through negotiations.

O. Diaz Vasque noted the talks in Moscow had revealed a broad range of coincidence in the views of the two countries' parliamentarians.

Both sides expressed the certainty that the delegation's visit will serve the cause of the consolidation of ties between the parliaments of the USSR and the Republic of Panama and the expansion of contacts between the two countries in various fields.

L.N. Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union, took part in the talk.

On the same day the guests had a talk with L.N. Tolkunov and chairmen and members of the permanent commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Panamanian parliamentarians were familiarized with the structure and activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet aimed at the speediest implementation of the tasks connected with restructuring. The role of the Soviets of all levels in developing and consolidating socialist democracy was emphasized.

O. Diaz Vasquez described the structure and work of Panama's legislative assembly.

Touching on international problems, the Soviet and Panamanian parliamentarians noted that the two countries are brought closer together by their common desire to live in peace with all peoples.

Komplektov Receives Group

PM271329 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talk Held"]

[Text] A talk took place 26 February at the USSR Foreign Ministry between V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and the delegation from Panama's legislative assembly headed by Parliament President O. Diaz Vasquez which is in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

POLITBURO DISCUSSES GORBACHEV'S BALTIC TOUR

LD262030 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has discussed and approved the report by Comrade Gorbachev on the results of the trip to the Latvian and Estonian Union Republics, on the meetings with the party aktiv, and on conversations with the working people. The exchange of views which took place in labor collectives, primary party organizations, and conversations with workers, kolkhoz workers, engineering and technical workers, representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and students, on topical questions connected with restructuring are of important significance for the implementation of the decisions of the January 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and for the fuller use of the material and technical, cultural and spiritual potential created in those republics. In restructuring, directives based in principle on matters of economic and social construction, the development of socialist democracy and of the role and place of party bodies, at the rayon level, in particular, ought to be applied in practice in the activities of all party organizations and labor collectives. Taking into account the ideas expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the need was stressed for the adoption by party, state, and economic organizations of measures to activize the work to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and to mobilize communists and all working people in the implementation of the plan targets for 1987. Corresponding state and economic bodies have been instructed to review matters concerned with the renewed of fixed productive assets in industry, with increasing the output and raising the quality of consumer goods, with the development of the social sphere, and with improving material and technical supply to enterprises of the Latvian and Estonian SSR's, and to adopt the necessary measures.

The Politburo considered the matter of preparation for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The decision by the CPSU Central Commitee on this issue says that the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution is a great festive occasion for the Soviet people and a review of the historic achievements of socialism. At the same time, this is also a high point from which we will be able to interpret the results and lessons of the road we have covered, the changes taking place in the world, and the new tasks lying ahead for Soviet society at the current and extremely important stage of its development. Measures of a political, organization, and ideological nature were mapped out, with the aim of ensuring that preparations for the anniversary celebration should contribute actively to the enhancement of the labor and political activity of communists, nonparty persons, the young, and all the working people of the country. The importance of revealing the integral link between the deeds of the October Revolution and today's transformations in all aspects of Soviet society's life -- transformations that are revolutionary in their essence -- was stressed. Particular attention was drawn to the need for conducting propaganda from a position of truth and realism, boldly exposing shortcomings and rousing the working people to a resolute struggle for their elimination, for sustained work aimed at the improvement of socialism, and for achieving the programmatic goals of the CPSU.

The address by the CPSU Central Committee to the Soviet people in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was approved. The address will be published in the press.

A decision by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the measures for improving the work of kolkhoz markets was endorsed.

It stipulates a considerable strengthening of their material base, an increase in deliveries and sales of agricultural produce at them, and the implementation of certain other measures aimed at improving supplies to the population and exerting effective economic influence on cutting market prices. It is deemed expedient to transfer kolkhoz markets from the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Trade and Ministries of Housing and Municipal Services of the Union republics to the jurisdiction of consumer cooperative organizations. Full responsibility for the management of kolkhoz markets and for ensuring the necessary conditions for their work and for the development of their material and technical base is placed, side by side with the consumer cooperative organizations, on the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo also examined certain other issues concerning the domestic policy and the foreign political activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

RSFSR OFFICIAL SAYS CHURBANOV INVESTIGATED

PM271511 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 22 Feb 87 p 9

[Article by Vladimir Oleynik, deputy chief of the Investigation Department of the RSFSR Procurator's Office: "The Law Applies to Everyone"]

[Text] The precise observance of law is one of the main forms of implementation of social justice. Let me start speaking on this rather difficult subject with a seemingly insignificant episode, bringing people to book for perjury. Last year the trial was completed of a group of plunderers who operated in the Moscow trade network. They all got their due. However, the court ruled that the persons who tried to shield the criminals at the trial should also be tried. The perjurers were recently tried. A shop assistant and a stevedore were sentenced. The court, however, mentioned in its decision another name -- P. Bachurin, director of the Research Institute of Food Biotechnology. He committed perjury at the trial and had to be brought to book for this. But nothing happened because he had some protectors.

I mentioned this to show with what difficulty the changes in our life are setting in. On the one hand there is the trial of high-ranking plunderers, i.e., a trial hardly imaginable in the recent past, and, on the other, relapses into former way of thinking which, fortunately, are dwindling into oblivion.

A year has passed since the 27th CPSU Congress. Law and order is becoming part and parcel of our life. In order for the reader to understand it better, how it all was in the past (it is hard to believe, but it was so), here's an example from my own experience of working as a prosecutor a long time ago. At the time I was a district prosecutor in a Central Asian Republic. The local authorities, without much ado, made me responsible for controlling the lambing and milking of sheep. I had to keep an eye on whether there was enough salt in livestock feed, whether the seeds for sowing were properly spent, and was even supposed to give recommendations, even though I was no expert on agriculture. That is what people, whose first and foremost task is to safeguard law, had to do sometimes. But the most difficult thing, maybe, it was sometimes to fulfil my duties honestly. Once a tractor driver had a tiff with the district Party secretary in the fields. The tractor driver heatedly objected to some instructions that were too hot to handle. And immediately orders were issued: "To bring the tractor driver to book for insulting an authority and sabotage!" That was how simply the law was interpreted at the time. We managed to save the tractor driver. [paragraph continues]

But when we arrested a state farm director from the same district for beating up a subordinate, the court, succumbing to pressure brought to bear by local authorities, did not put him behind bars.

The truth and the law are starting to march side-by-side when everybody is equal before the law, irrespective of their merits or the posts they occupy. And that is what was started after the Congress -- many of the high-placed officials, who got involved in corruption and bribe taking, were brought to trial. However, the changes for the better in the attitude to the law are not reduced to this alone. The main thing is that the examples from the past, I cited above, now seem absurd.

The zones forbidden to criticize are no more, and this is good. Because there are shortcomings in the work of the organs which maintain law and order, too. And when their work is subjected to correct criticism, measures must be taken at once.

As we know, a group of plunderers has been recently broken up in Rostov-On-Don. The atmosphere in the Moscow trade network has improved and that is good. V. Vyshku, former vice-chairman of Moldavian SSR Council of ministers, and V. Mitrofanov, former first vice-chairman of the executive committee of the Moscow City Soviet, have been convicted. And here is another example. Yu Churbanov, former first deputy minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR, is now under investigation. He is charged with taking bribes and corruption. But the facts which convicted him have been known for over a year now. Therefore, we see that there are still relapses in the mode of thinking which I spoke of above.

Social justice is a very broad concept. However, you will agree, of course, that we recollect it most often when we start speaking about the law. The problems, posed by the restructuring of our work, are rifle. We must change our psychology and attitude to work and in this we must spare no efforts to make sure that speaking figuratively, the shield will be firm and the sword will not get blunted.

EDUCATION MINISTER ON NEW VUZ ENTRANCE RULES

PM271555 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Feb 87 First Edition p 2

[TASS report under the "Reported at News Conference" rubric: "Route to VUZ"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has confirmed the 1987 VUZ admission rules. G.A. Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, reported on the rule changes at a news conference held on 20 February. The new rules, the minister stressed, stem from the basic guidelines for restructuring the country's education outlined by the CPSU Central Committee. They are aimed at selecting the foremost young people who are best prepared for VUZ education.

This year, the awarding of additional credits based on the results of vocational discussion has been rescinded. The experiment showed that it did not always have a valid influence on the results of competitive selection. Admissions committees have been authorized to conduct all written examinations. This will increase the reliability of teacher assessment and exclude oversubjectivity in testing knowledge.

School-leavers will take three examinations: One examination in Russian (or native) language and literature in essay form and two examinations in the educational institution's discipline.

Competition based on examination results for the day section among school-leavers with more than 2 years of work experience and those deemed comparable and among those without it will be held separately.

Preference has been given to school medal-winners; excellent-rated pupils of secondary specialized, vocational, and technical educational institutions; and school-leavers whose discipline or labor activity matches the speciality chosen in the VUZ.

Additional requirements, reflecting the specific nature of the training of specialists in specific disciplines, have been set for applicants to medical, teacher training, agricultural, and some other VUZ's. Thus, people who have an inclination for or experience in working with children and also have the recommendation of pedagogical councils of schools, secondary specialized educational institutions, vocational and technical colleges, public education bodies, labor collectives, and city and rayon Komsomol committees will be admitted to teaching training specialities.

Medical VUZ's will begin switching over to enrolling students from among young men and women who have worked as junior or intermediate-grade medical personnel for at least 2 years and those discharged into the military reserve.

The experiment in the VUZ's of Moscow, Moscow Oblast, and Leningrad, which envisages conducting student admissions in July, will be continued. VUZ's in other cities will hold entrance examinations in August.

GERASIMOV SAYS EMIGRATION REQUESTS REEXAMINED

TA241752 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] The Soviet authorities are reexamining in a favorable light the emigration requests of those refuseniks who in the past had dealt with classified scientific and security affairs. Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, who reported this, stressed that he hopes the examination will end to the satisfaction of all parties. He made these remarks in a telephone conversation with Knesset member Zucker. Mr Zucker wanted to hear about the handling of the case of the refusenik couple, Vladimir and Isolde Topeld.

Promises Reply

TA251500 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1444 GMT 25 Feb 87

[Text] Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, has promised to look into the possibility of releasing prisoner of Zion Vladimir Lifshitz and granting an immediate exit permit to Yuriy Speisman, who has cancer, as well as helping to find a job for Alex Zelichonok, a prisoner of Zion who was released recently. In a telephone conversation with Knesset Member Amira Sartani, Gerasimov explained that he would provide answers to the above requests as soon as possible.

Our correspondent Ilan Ben-dor adds that Gerasimov also expressed the hope that the phenomenon of political prisoners will disappear from the Soviet scene.

DISSIDENT PSYCHIATRIST REQUESTS ASYLUM IN WEST

LD011120 London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in English 1 Mar 87, p 6

[Article by Ian Smiley in Kharkov, Ukraine entitled: "Koryagin Sends Plea to West"]

[Text] Dr Anatoliy Koryagin, the dissident Soviet psychiatrist, told me in an interview that he did not wish to live any longer under the Soviet system and appealed in a formal statement to Western states to give him and his family political asylum.

In 1981 Dr Koryagin was sentenced to 12 years hard labour and exile, later increased to 14 years, for being the first Soviet psychiatrist to document the abuse of Soviet psychiatry for political purposes.

Of the six years he served, he told me he spent more than two on hunger strike in protest at denial of prisoners' rights. He was force-fed. He spent over half a year in punishment cells and solitary confinement.

Nine days ago he was released by Mr Gorbachev as part of a campaign to improve the Soviet Union's human rights image and to swing the Russian intelligentsia behind him.

Dr Koryagin, however, remains unmoved by the improvements. The dissident psychiatrist, 48, sees little hope for real change in the foreseeable future.

The statement reads: "Like all my ancestors, I was born and bred in Russia. I became a doctor and worked as a psychiatrist. It so happened that my convictions came into conflict with the Soviet socio-political system and led me publicly to condemn the practice of psychiatric persecution in the Soviet Union and to try to stop it.

"The Soviet authorities declared me 'anti-Soviet' and threw me behind bars where, for six years, they have subjected me to systematic and calculated physical and mental torture which never stopped for a minute. They tried to force me to abandon my convictions and admit guilt before the Soviet state.

"There, in Soviet concentration camps and prisons, my final conviction grew that the Soviet socio-political system, based on the dictatorship of the single party, is, by its very nature, deeply anti-human because it prescribes as its main goal the direct and absolute obedience of the human personality to the machine of state.

"Man is regarded as the means to achieve 'historical goals', like a biological specimen whose features are worth manipulating for research.

"After returning from prison I have learned with pain and horror the kind of deprivation and repressions inflicted on my wife and small children. For many years I was regularly forbidden to see them. (He saw his wife just twice.)

"My sons' persecution at school and where they live prevented their natural development. In the end the childhood and youth of my elder son was crippled. (Aged 17, his eldest of three sons, Ivan, was sentenced to three years for 'hooliganism.' He has served half the term. Dr Koryagin says he will not leave the Soviet Union without him.)

"Once freed, I have not, to my regret, noticed any essential shift in the Soviet people's way of life, no matter what the official propaganda organs say about the 'democratisation' of the country.

"I see the same almighty power of the KGB and MVD (Interior Ministry) over ordinary people, who, in turn, remain without a voice, without rights and indifferent to everything emanating 'from on high.'

"After all I have seen and lived through, I shall never be able to tolerate the Soviet totalitarian regime. Nor, moreover, can I ever voluntarily accept the conditions of life here for myself and my family. I want my sons to develop in a free society.

"Besides, as well as working as a doctor, I am determined to continue legally to work on humanitarian questions, for human rights and freedoms.

"I think progress in these fields is a prerequisite for the development of any civilised society, but the Soviet authorities have already proved to me and to the whole world that they consider that type of activity to be anti-Soviet and that people who engage in it should be locked up.

"In view of the above. I declare that for purely political motives I do not wish to lie under the Soviet system and I appeal to the heads of governments of Western states to give me and my family political asylum."

FORMER PILOT BACK IN PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL

AU011416 Paris AFP in English 0225 GMT 1 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow, March 1 (AFP) -- A former pilot for the Soviet airline Aeroflot was incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital again on Saturday hours after KGB men beat him and his family while they were demonstrating in the centre of Moscow, a family member told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Saturday night.

The pilot, Serafim Evsiyukuv, and his wife and daughter staged a protest in Pushkin Square calling for the release of his son, Serafim Jr, who was sentenced to three years' hard labour last year for refusing to do military service.

Mr Evsiyukuv, 54, has been asking Soviet authorities for permission to emigrate to France for the past nine years, and the demonstration was also aimed at backing this request.

He was held in a psychiatric hopsital from July 19 to January 24 and released only after Andrey Sakharov -- the dissident physicist recently allowed to return here from internal exile -- wrote to the hospital on January 15 asking for him to be let out.

His daught, Ludmila, told AFP that KGB secret service men beat her and her parents while they were protesting, and tore signs out of their hands before taking them to a police station. Police standing by during the demonstration did not intervene, she did.

The mother and daughter were later released, but Mr Evsiyukuv was taken back to psychiatric hopsital. Miss Evsiyukuv said her mother was still suffering pain Saturday night after the beating.

RETURN OF FORMER SOVIET CITIZENS REPORTED

LD232142 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 23 (TASS) -- TASS correspondent Vladimir Rubenov reports:

One more group of former Soviet citizens today returned to Moscow from the United States. More than 40 people who arrived by an Aeroflot flight from New York are of various nationalities: Jews, Russians and Moldavians. Their age and occupations are different as well, like the motives that prompted them to leave their homeland at one time and look for happiness in foreign lands. However, the conclusion which they arrived at is common: The bread of a strange land is bitter. Homeland can be replaced with nothing.

"Yes, American shops offer consumers a wider range of goods than Soviet shops do. One must only have money to buy them", says the 41-year-old driver Iosif Zarov who spent ten years in the United States. "But there are none of my friends there, my Leningrad street, everything to which I got accustomed since childhood. So, no earnings, and I made good money in the United States, can compensate for all this. This is why I decided to return to the homeland. I express gratitude to the Soviet authorities for the humane act -- the opportunity to return home afforded to me".

"I could not adapt myself to the American mode of life although I spent seven years in the United States", says the 48-year-old taxi driver Mikhail Daskal. "Zionist organisations threatened me with violence for actions against their crazy preaching of a certain exclusiveness of Jews. I committed a fatal mistake by having left for the United States. I would like to expiate this guilt by my further life in the Soviet Union. I am confident that I will be able to find a job. I am looking forward to meeting my kith and kin and friends in my native city of Kishinev".

Around two hundred people have returned to the Soviet Union lately. The arrival of several more large groups is expected shortly. Besides, a considerable number of people who earlier left the USSR expressed the wish to return to the homeland. This was announced at a Moscow press conference several days ago.

According to reports from Soviet embassies in various countries, their consulate departments received thousands of applications from former Soviet citizens with the request to allow them to return to the USSR. All these requests will be considered.

AMBARTSUMOV EXAMINES RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

AU251131 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 7, 15 Feb 87 pp 10-11

[Interview given by Soviet historian Yevgeniy Ambartsumov to correspondent Ferenc Szaniszlo: "Spring Flood -- A Soviet Historian Speaks -- A Certain Future for Transformation;" -- date and place not given; first paragraph is MAGYARORSZAG introduction]

[Text] Historian Yevgeniy Ambartsumov gladly agreed to express his views on the recent Soviet past in an interview given to our journal. Here is the text of the Moscow interview:

[Szaniszlo] The 27th CPSU Congress is often compared to the almost legendary 20th Congress. In your opinion, what is the place in Soviet history of the last congress held in February last year?

Congressional Evaluations [Subhead]

[Ambartsumov] The comparison is natura. Both congresses meant some sort of turning point in the direction of democratization and the solidarity of all the existent constructive social forces. We looked upon the activity of both congresses with great hope. No wonder, because precisely the events prior to the above-mentioned congresses were the ones that put an end to the state of social stagnation and lethargy and to assisting the conservatives. It is not by accident that "thaw" was the expression characterizing the proverbial Ilya Ehrenburg period after 1953 but prior to the 20th Congress. In the same spirit, we could call the current events "spring floods" because they wash the old and old-fashioned things away.

I would not like to give the impression that I want to diminish the importance of the 20th CPSU Congress. Exposing and condemning Stalin's personality cult required a political courage that should not be underestimated in the least. I was quite a young man at the time and I remember the shock and at the same time the refreshening and exhilarating effects of the disclosures, but I also remember the infuriating inconsistency of the leadership at the time and its ill-considered positions, contradictions, and improvisations.

At the beginning, the leadership at the time condemned the retrograde phenomena but later — obviously in the fear of losing control of the increasing activity of the society — the leadership drew the reins in again and attacked, for example, the nonconformist representatives of the artistic life. In other words: To the deep satisfaction of the peasantry, the leadership first abolished the household tax and then, totally unexpectedly and precisely at the time of the 20th Congress, the leadership began limiting the activity of the household plots and even eliminating them.

Khrushchev stripped himself of the support of the wide strata of the society on its own, and the leadership of the time did not hide the contradictions and the internal struggles that characterized it. The consequences of these struggles are well-known. Khrushchev tried to defeat and eliminate the egoist bureaucratic groups but he did not succeed, not the least precisely because of his inconsistent policy and the gloomy heritage of the traditions of "personality cult", although he firmly condemned these traditions.

Many things have changed in the past decades. It is true, there also has been an accumulation of negative phenomena, too, but society has become more mature. The fact that we now have new and energetic politicians who see much further than Khrushchev proves that. The current Soviet leadership is at least as courageous concerning the solution of the tasks ahead as Khrushchev was in his time, but the current leadership is more consistent and determined than he was. I believe that, in the future, we will close also the affairs not discussed at the 20th Congress and in the period following that congress.

Debates on the NEP [Subhead]

[Szaniszlo] With the passing of some time, it happens that historical events are reassessed as the same problem can be approached in different ways. Do you not fear something like that in the case of the CPSU plenum of April 1985 and the 27th CPSU Congress?

[Ambartsumov] Only the activity and commitment of the party and the people can guarantee that the reconstruction becomes an irreversible process. Not everyone is active enough yet; there also are skeptics as well as people who do not want to take upon themselves "unnecessary" burdens. In their opinion, we should return to the seemingly calm life prior to the transformations.

There also are open opponents to this policy: Selfish bureaucratic groupings, the parasites of the society, and the "people who can be bribed". We also can find "Stalin's successors" -- to use one of Yevtushenko's apt expressions -- who call the current renewal process "the breaking up of foundations", just as they did at the time of the 20th CPSU Congress. In my opinion, we still will witness sharp confrontations in the future. I am, however, an optimist; people have become tired of stagnation and are fed up with the yoke of bureacuracy, and wish for renewal.

As for the historical events, their evaluation can, of course, change and can become more precise. The future will determine whether the 20th and the 27th CPSU Congresses were indeed of progressive historical importance.

[Szaniszlo] When the law on the private activity has adopted, there were people who claimed a similarity between the NEP [New Economic Policy] and the new economic policy, and between the NEP period and the current guideline. You know the NEP period well and both your debate article, which created a sensation, and your new book in preparation are about this period. Can we, indeed, find some similarity between the two policies and the two periods?

[Ambartsumov] The ancient Greeks stated that we cannot walk in the same river twice. The NEP is an old, historical period that ended long ago and it is impossible to return to it. However, we could and should use the management forms and methods of the peroid if these can be applied to the current circumstances. Particularly timely for us is the philosophy of the NEP period by which I mean the realistic concept of socialism. Based on a real and not idealistic and imagined social structure, the NEP harmonized the long-range interests of the society with everyday interests of the individual.

I regard the opinions that identify the NEP policy with the so-called NEP men (profiteers and nouveau -riches) as mistaken. The profiteers and nouveau -riches were deposited as inevitable sediments in the healthy and normal process of social development.

I see the essence of the NEP, that is of the new economic policy, in the independence of production units -- enterprises, workshops, and factories -- in the system of semi-independent economic activity, enterprise self-governing, and in the spread of democracy, and, of course, in the everyday direct contacts between the leadership and the masses. In my opinion, the NEP is the normal way of socialist development, free of decisions forced out in an extreme way by "great leaps forward", a way in which profits exceed investments, even if unpleasant things and victims are involved in these investments.

What Is in the Schoolbooks [Subhead]

[Szaniszlo] Are there debates going on in Soviet historian circles on the connections between the NEP and the current economic policy?

[Ambartsumov] Some years ago, on the 60th anniversary of the announcement of the NEP, a group of historians organized a roundtable conference in Moscow. Following the lectures, the public flooded the scientists with a multitude of questions primarily about the timeliness of the NEP. A well-known NEP expert and researcher of the subject, the chairman tried in confusion to avoid drawing any kind of similarity. Some of us were really amused by this attempt.

Refraining from drawing any parallels was dictated by cautiousness rather than by professional narrow-mindedness: At that time, drawing a parallel between certain events in the past and the present and an honest debate over historical lessons required scientific courage. [paragraph continues]

In Leonid Brezhnev's time, it was Trapeznikov, the head of the Central Committee's Scientific Department, who kept a watchful eye on the historical sciences. Trapeznikov, who regarded himself a leading historian, took a firm stand against every opinion that did not reflect his views. (There was, of course, no danger of special risks because, after all, historians who viewed the events differently did not have to step onto the burning stakes)

The debate on the NEP is more about the timing of this period rather than its interpretation. On the basis of the documents of the thirties, some historians believe that the NEP concluded in 1936, with the well-known announcement made by Stalin. Other experts, our famous economists among them, point out that the forced collectivization, the elimination of kulak farms, and the strict centralization of the economic life put an end to the New Economic Policy already at the end of the twenties. I, myself, am also of this latter opinion.

Writers and Historians [subhead]

[Szaniszlo] In MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, Professor Yuriy Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow Archives Institute, criticized recently the "lifeless", "monotonous", and "boring" style of party history manuals. In his opinion, certain historical events and facts are approached "unilaterally", and others are simply hushed up. Playwright Mikhail Satrov once spoke of a "faceless" history to journalists. In his view, a history book that is repeatedly rewritten and in which there is a vacuum between certain events, provides little information to the young people. What is your opinion about this?

[Ambartsumov] I fully agree with the Afanasyev and Satrov's positions. Not every historian thinks like that but this is not a problem because, this way, several viewpoints must compete in a constructive debate. I think we are still facing sharp debates concerning some chapters of our history. In the course of these debates, we will see how attractive the historical sciences are, how interesting and full the history of the Soviet Union is, and how palely this is reflected by the distinguished-looking thick tomes.

There is presently an interesting situation in which our writers are playing an even more important role than scientists in supplying an objective illustration of the Soviet history. The names of Astafyev, Bikov, Rasputin, Ribakov, and of those who are no longer with us: Abramov, Simonov, and Trifonov are well-known all over the world. Unfortunately, our professional historians cannot boast of such fame and this is also due to the fact that their scientific works generally are not generating great reaction and some ventures simply proved to be fruitless.

As an example, I would mention Viktor Danilov's books on peasantry and collectivization, which are known among a narrow circle of experts at the most. Some of his essays were not even published: Trapeznikov, for example, vetoed Danilov's monograph analyzing the collectivization.

[Szaniszlo] In the above-mentioned article, Professor Afanasyev criticizes, among other things, the fact that the school books continue to use Stalin's definitions on the victory of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. As Afanasyev puts it, Lenin's last articles and his letter addressed to the Central Committee appear incompletely: Lenin's characterization of later opponents to Stalin is presented unilaterally with only the negative aspects mentioned.

Feelings and Interests [subhead]

[Ambartsumov] It is not easy to fight against old slogans and it also happens that a vanished cliche reappears. As for Lenin's description of the leaders of the Bolshevik Party at the time, later events justified the correctness of this description sometimes in a tragic form. Following he 20th CPSU Congress, Lenin's letters written to the leading organs of the party -- his so-called testament -- were fully published both in the press and in the party history works. They appeared also as an independent publication.

[Szaniszlo] In a recent commentary written in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, you compared the Alma-Ata events of December 1987 with the similar type of disturbances created by youth in Tbilisi in 1956. What lessons can be drawn from the two events?

[Ambartsumov] I believe the common roots of the two events are in the violation of the Leninist norms of party and social life, the limitation of socialist democracy and the power of publicity, and the obsolete economic policy. These roots began to develop well before the above-mentioned events. The consequences were that the phenomenon of national overconfidence emerged among the local population and particularly among the youth.

Young people -- for understandable reasons -- react more directly, they are "more passionate", and can be manipulated more easily. Our press now is informing us about the way the clan concept reemerged and developed again in Kazakhstan and the way the natives of the southern areas became privileged people. They gathered in clans in other areas, too, seemingly for self-defense.

Yuriy Andropov spoke foreseeingly at the time about this particular local chauvinism. His words are important also for other socialist countries. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet state, Andropov warned of the danger of national overconfidence and self-complacency. He regarded it important that the various nationalities living in a republic should be adequately represented in the leading and guiding organs. The former leaders of Kazakhstan did not act this way.

From the Perspective of Alma-Ata [subhead]

The dramatic feature of the Alma-Ata events is provided precisely by the fact that the roots of the problem and the causes behind them lay in the old mistaken practice. This practice was in the process of vanishing lately and this caused discontent among some people. The new leadership -- which bears no responsibility for the mistakes -- had to face the consequences of the old policy, that is, they had to lie in the bed made by the former leadership in Kazakhstan.

However, it does not follow from all this that the communists should at the same time give up the struggle against big-power chauvinist trends. Lenin stressed in his last article that the feelings and interests of formerly exploited small nations and nationalities should be respected, but neither the condemnation of Stalin's policy 30 years ago nor Kunayev's release from the position of head of the Kazakh Communist Party means big-power chauvinism. On the contrary: This is the manifestation of real internationalism and principled communist policy because the outstanding sons of the Georgian people also suffered from Stalin's despotism and, at the same time, scum like Beriya could hide and surface. In the time Kunayev was the first secretary, the morality and practice corrupted the local population and the Kazakh youth.

PROSECUTIONS STEM FROM RAILROAD FREIGHT CAR ABUSES

PM201145 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 87 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Article by A. Rekunkov, USSR prosecutor general: "Accountability for Negligence"]

[Text] The smooth working of enterprises and their fulfillment of contractual shipments largely depend on the smooth working of transportation, primarily rail transport. However, there have been more and more frequent breakdowns in the operation of the transport system.

The insufficient attention devoted to the reconstruction and modernization of transport shops and to the technical maintenance of spur tracks is taking its toll. This leads to finished products not being dispatched on time and rolling stock standing idle. The situation is complicated by the inefficiency and lack of departmental coordination between leaders of industrial enterprises and organizations and rail transport leaders.

Under these circumstances the USSR Prosecutor's Office and its local organs have stepped up supervision of the execution of legislation in the economic activity of the Ministry of Railways and ministries concerned with the dispatch and receipt of freight, and increased officials' personal responsibility for the uneconomic use of cars and tank cars.

Checks revealed that one of the reasons for the massive withdrawal of rolling stock from circulation is the poor organization and mechanization of the work to ensure that rail cars are unloaded on schedule. Thus, in January 37 cars containing the remains of national economic freight that had been left standing for more than 5 months were discovered at Karasuk Station on the West Siberian Railroad. The prosecutor's office is investigating a number of criminal cases on the basis of evidence of mismanagement.

Adopting parochial attitudes, many rail transport leaders fail to strictly demand that economic leaders accelerate turnover of rolling stock, are indulgent with negligent leaders, and sometimes even conceal their inactivity. Thus, Aytmagometov, chief of Yermak Station on the Pavlodar section of the Tselinnaya Railroad, and his deputy Khabarov systematically covered up car standstills in the accounts and failed to impose fines. Proceedings have been instituted against them.

Serious damage is done to the state as a result of the incomplete unloading and poor cleaning of cars and tank cars. The Alma-Ata Transport Prosecutor's Office is examining the reasons why 66 cars containing leftover clinker and slag -- whose additional cleaning cost the state R14,000 -- were dispatched by the Central Asian Railroad (chief: N. Belogurov).

On 25 January the Kuzbass Transport Prosecutor's Office established that each car dispatched by the South Urals Railroad (chief: I. Vorobyev) and the Sverdlovsk Railroad (chief: V. Skvortsov) contained the remains of feed cake, cement, sand, and peat amounting to between 3 and 10 metric tons. Severe measures have been taken against the guilty parties.

Through the fault of workers at the Arkhangelsk TETS more than 20 metric tons of fuel were not discharged from one tank car during reception of rolling stock containing fuel oil, and the tank car was dispatched to another station as empty. [paragraph continues]

Similar cases have come to light at Rtishchevo and Zverevskaya Stations on the South East Railroad, Vologda Station on the Northern Railroad, Shevchenkovo Station on the Odessa Railroad, and a number of others. Proceedings have been instituted against the guilty parties. Around 80 criminal cases were instituted or under investigation in January-February because of the improvident use of railroad rolling stock.

At the demand of prosecutors 170 officials have had disciplinary proceedings instituted against them and 475 people have been warned about the impermissibility of lawbreaking. With a view to making good the damage done to the state 254 officials have been made materially liable for their failure to observe contractual terms and 192 suits for sums totaling more than R115,000 have been filed with the courts.

There would be considerably fewer cases of this sort if the controls exercised by railroad leaders over the complete unloading and cleaning of cars and tank cars and their technical condition were well organized.

There is an inadequate number of railroad acceptance and delivery supervisors [priyemosdatchiki] at rail car unloading areas, particularly at major enterprises where goods are delivered direct from the rail network. Controls of the commercial state of cars and tank cars arriving from customers' spur tracks after unloading are selective. These controls have only one aim -- to fine customers under Article 161 of the Railroad Charter for returning uncleaned rolling stock. At the same time, railroad chiefs almost never take advantage of the right granted to them by Article 51 of the Charter to decline to accept cars that have not been cleaned after unloading or which have been damaged by freight recipients. The overwhelming majority of such cars with remains of freight and broken bodywork are dispatched to other railroads and the Ministry of Railways has taken no effective measures to combat the incomplete unloading and unsatisfactory cleaning and safekeeping of cars and tank cars.

Another serious shortcoming in the activity of the leaders of destination stations is that they fail to fill our essential sections of the documents accompanying empty tank and other cars. For instance, at stem cleaning and coal loading stations it is impossible to establish from these documents not only the unconscientious consignee who left some of the freight behind, but even the station where the unloading was carried out and from which the empty cars and tank were forwarded.

Having failed to ensure the proper commercial and technical condition of each car and tank car as received from enterprise spur tracks, many station leaders with the connivance of railroad regional and divisional chiefs sometimes deliberately fill in the accompanying documentation wrongly in order to duck responsibility.

It was only on 16 January this year that the Ministry of Railways instructed railroad regional and divisional chiefs to take personal responsibility for systematically checking that consignees observe the demands of Article 51 of the Railroad Charter.

The country's transport and territorial prosecutors -- firsts and foremost on the Donetsk, Volga, South Urals, north Caucasus, and Far Eastern Railroads -- have been strictly instructed to turn their attention to tightening up supervision of the execution of legislation in economic activity related to rail shipments. [paragraph continues]

Main attention is focused on raising officials' responsibility for shipments of fuel, energy, timber, and metallurgical freight and for the activity of enterprises and organizations under the jurisdiction of the State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Grain Products, and the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office is monitoring the work of subordinate prosecutor's offices, is taking steps to improve the effectiveness of their work and organize cooperation with people's control committees, and is seeking to ensure that party and soviet organs are kept constantly informed about the observance of the law in this most important area.

RAILWAYS DELAY DELIVERY OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINES

LD231854 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Text] An alarming signal. First spring operations are starting in the south. Spring sowing will start soon in important grain yielding areas, and rural machine operators are waiting for their machinery and tractor stock to be replenished with new equipment. Their deliveries, however, have come to a halt at many works. At the enterprises of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Building, over 17,000 machines are stockpiled as a result of a shortage of railfreight cars. These machines include sowing machines, cultivators, seed cleaning units and fertilizer applicators. The most difficult situation still remains in Volgograd. Throughout the winter the Volga railway has been delaying the delivery of flat cars, and now some 3,000 tractors are waiting to be loaded their; nearly 2,000 at the Minsk Tractor Works and some 1,000 at the Kharkov Works. More than 2,000 sowing machines are piled up in Kirovograd, and about 1,000 machines for seed pre-sowing treatment are being stored in Voronezh.

All could have been explained by the extreme conditions of the outgoing winter. The works of the Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building, however, with the exception of the Volgograd works, during that time worked in close contact with the railwaymen. The situation changed in February. Organizational work at some main lines weakened, and a lack of discipline started to manifest itself. Here is an example: disregarded the instructions of the Ministry of Railways concerning the increased dispatch of freight cars to Kherson. As a result, the combine harvester works has found itself stranded. The Lvov chemical machine building for agriculture works received covered freight cars instead of flat cars.

These and other facts are known to Valeriy Nikolayevich Butko, first deputy minister of railways. The editorial office hopes that he will take urgent measures, and rural machines will again go along a green street, as railwaymen say, meaning without delays.

TASS ANALYST ON NEW DRAFT TRADE UNION RULES

LD131331 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 13 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS -- By TASS news analyst Boris Prokhorov:

The draft new rules of the Soviet trade unions, published for nationwide discussion, will help deepen trade union democracy and expand the activity of trade unions on the whole.

This opinion has been expressed by numerous participants in the discussion currently held at meetings of the nation's trade unions.

Critical remarks and suggestions are being summed up by trade union bodies and will be submitted to the congress of Soviet trade unions to open in the Kremlin on February 24.

There are many suggestions. It has been proposed, for instance, to add to the item on elections to trade union bodies the provision that in choosing chairman of the trade union committee at least two-three candidates should be on the ticket.

Many suggest provisions that would invigorate the activity of primary trade union organizations and groups.

The draft rules say that workshop union meetings should be held at least once in three months. Some of the participants in the discussion suggest monthly meetings.

It is proposed to broaden the rights of trade union meetings. There is an opinion that they should be given the right to make decisions mandatory for the administration in part related to the creation of normal conditions for work and labour protection. Should the manager fail to comply, the trade union meeting would have the power to penalize him.

There are specific proposals directed at broadening the rights of primary trade union committees and restricting the power of senior trade union bodies to "command" those below.

Quite a few proposals are designed to enhance the prestige and the role of rank-and-file members in the life of their trade union organizations. Work collectives at several major enterprises suggest that a probation period be introduced for those applying for trade union membership.

In their opinion, this will allow young workers to realise better the responsibility that rests with trade union members and to prepare themselves better for membership.

Many speakers at meetings said that the new rules should provide stricter punishment for those who breach trade union regulations and ethics, who fail to comply with a trade unioon regulations and ethics, who fail to comply with a trade union member's duties.

Expulsion from trade unions should be applied more often. This entails the loss of many benefits and allowances which members of Soviet trade unions enjoy.

MOSCOW TV VIEWS FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

LD191234 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1410 GMT 18 Feb 87

["The Deed Beyond the Word" program on "The Reform of Foreign Economic Relations," presented by Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, with Ivan Dmitriyevich Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers and Academician Oleg Timfeyevich Bogomolov, director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Moscow; date not given -- recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The system of foreign economic activity is being restructured. There has been an expansion of the rights of enterprises and industries to foreign economic ties, as was stressed at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum. This will be the topic discussed in this program which is presented by Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. [video shows various unnamed industrial scenes]

[Bunich in studio] Good evening, comrade viewers. In our studio today we have two well known Soviet economists. Allow me to introduce them. Ivan Dmitriyevich Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers and Academician Oleg Timofeyevich Bogomolov, Director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

We have received quite a few letters on the theme of foreign economic ties, on their prospects, and on reform in this area. Comrade Grigoriy Nikolayevich Tyurin writes from Moscow: What are the present trends in the structure of exports of developed countries and are they responsive to the structure of our exports? If not that is if we already have some sort of answer provided -- then what is being done and what will be done to restructure our exports into the channel of the most advantageous world division of labor?

[Ivanov] International trade has always been a sort of mirror of those changes happening in production. In this case it is reflecting the trends and structural shifts now dominating production. Basically this is a transfer, a formation of a completely new face of production, production which is resource-saving and labor-saving achieved through new technology. This is being reflected in international trade, too. In particular this is apparent in the considerable extent of the fall in the demand for raw materials. If one starts at the beginning of this century, every year the relative demand for raw materials has been falling by approximately by 1 percent. Now all these processes have gained speed very rapidly. Just one example: In 1984 Japan used 40 percent less raw materials on one unit of output than it used in 1973. Under these conditions substantial problems naturally arise for countries which produce raw materials. Raw material prices are now at probably the lowest level of the past 40 years; competition is acute. Naturally our country cannot be satisfied with either the structure of our exports or with the prices we are getting for our raw materials. In particular, from approximately the start of the eighties, our exports started growing in [words indistinct] volume, in weight, more quickly than in value, i.e. we had to buy each unit of foreign currency with a greater quantity of goods. This is partly explained by the state of world conditions, and partly by the problems that characterize our economy in general: the delays in technical modernization. We intend to overcome these problems. In the area of foreign trade the task is also being posed of implementing a large-scale industrialization of Soviet exports. Some time at the start of the nineties our industry, first and foremost engineering (?will be) providing us with a large quantity of competitive machinetools, machinery, and technology. This will allow us to change the structure. [passage omitted - Bogomolov on importance of exports]

[Bunich] Grigoriy Vasiliyevich (Chanov) from Zhitomir writes: Can we hope for an increase of imports of consumer goods? Recently the opposite has been observed.

[Bogomolov] Well, I don't think that this is quite right. Imports of consumer goods, especially from socialist countries are of extremely tangible size, especially in such goods as footwear, furniture, ready-made clothes. In the area of food supplies to our country, imports also occupy quite a sizeable place. [passage omitted - Bogomolov on importance of socialist economic integration and international division of labor for consumer goods production]

[Ivanov] Now we are aiming at not importing, as we did earlier, very many complete enterprises, i.e. we cannot build all our new plants through imports. The line being taken is to modernize machine-building. There are a lot of imports concentrated in that area, and then, when it is renewed, machine-building will help solve the task of supplying consumer goods entirely through imports. This is impossible. Imports have played a [word indistinct] role in enriching the consumer range. This enrichment makes it more varied, and, incidentally, it will spur our light and food industry by good example, to be perfectly frank [otkrovenno], competition from imports will make it work better. [passage omitted - bogomolov on varied quality of imported goods, importance of cooperation within CEMA]

[Ivanov] We are not planning any sort of substantial reduction in imports of consumer goods, since our policy both in economic growth and in foreign trade, is not just based on economic factors but also one social ones. Nevertheless, it is perfectly obvious that both regarding industry and consumer goods, the country can import them on one condition: It must first earn the money for it. So, the more we earn, the more we shall import.

[Bogomolov] Participation in international division of labor in the development of foreign economic ties is in general a very profitable and advantageous business. Often capital investment connected with the development of effective exports give a return significantly more rapidly than capital investments in other areas of the economy. [passage omitted -- Bogamolov generalizes about what leads to efficiency]

[Ivanov] The main thing is that we decided to combine the producer of the goods and the trader. For this purpose the range of goods which are to be traded by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the range of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Ties has been reduced. A considerable quantity of these goods, mainly engineering products, has been handed over to industry. Seventy, even more than 70, industrial enterprises and 20 ministries have obtained the right to independent access to the foreign market, to the markets of socialists, developing, and capitalist countries. The criteria have been established for their operations in these markets: Financial autonomy, self-sufficiency in foreign currency, and self-financing. They will receive foreign currency quotas, will have free disposal of these quotas. They will have the possibility of organizing under the ministry, under the enterprises, or under their own foreign trade associations or firms, which will receive direct access to the foreign market. [passage omitted - video feature on Moscow clock factory, Bogomolov on the importance of exports, video feature on cooperation with Poland on crane production; Bogomolov on the need to remove intermediaries in trade contacts]

[Bunich] Comrade Ivan Ivanovich, [Podkolkin] from Kiev, writes: It seems strange that all the ills of our exporters previously were borne by the state, and enterprises virtually did not engage in exporting. Now, they themselves will pay for everything -- the enterprises. They will bear the losses, and it would seem that an export boom will start. What will be the incentive, so to speak, for the enterprise to work for exports?

[Bogomolov] This is a very interesting question, because our practice has often contradicted considerations of effectiveness. We indeed quite often exported goods which cost us more than what we received for them.

[Bunich] Even taking into account the fact that we then received free foreign currency and could then do something...

[Bogomolov -- interrupting] Well, this is a matter of accounting. There were also cases where we clearly sold for a small advantage or even at a loss to ourselves, because there was a demand for this or that product, and we had to help our friends. Now we want more and more to subordinate the development of foreign economic ties to considerations of effectiveness, national economic effectiveness, to sell precisely what will cost our national economy least, and import goods which would cost us considerably more to produce to make. Under these conditions, of course, there will be a sort of leaching out from our exports of those goods which are being produced inefficiently, or with long delays.

[Bunich] Or for quality reasons?

[Bogomolov] Yes, if they are not competitive due to their quality, or if they command a low price. On the other hand material and other incentives should be given to those enterprises which are capable of exporting to advantage, to the advantage of their own financial autonomy interests, naturally, and to the advantage of the state as a whole. [passage omitted]

[Ivanov] I should like to stress that noboby forced those 70 enterprises in the foreign market to enter; it is voluntary. The enterprises calculated their potential, and agreed.

Trade in a number of goods of statewide designation will remain centralized, with the Ministry of Foreign Trade. These are raw materials, food. They will continue to be traded by the ministry. I want to say, however, that basically the enterprises in question are in the machine-building industry. The idea is that they should learn how to produce good machinery; learn how to compete. [passage omitted]

AZERBAIJAN RAIL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM CRITICIZED

NC131632 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 10 Feb 87

[Text] Those who attended the [word indistinct] meeting held at the Azerbaijan Railways Administration on 10 February discussed the effort made to consolidate the republic's railroad transportation system. They reviewed the result of the work carried out by all the economic establishments in January and discussed the tasks for February. Comrade Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

It was noted that the effort made to remove the shortcomings in rail transportation has been successfully expanded, and an effective coordination has been established between the transportation enterprises and various economic establishments. However, the rail transportation system's situation remains serious. About 5,000 freight cars have been unloaded so far, but the establishments affiliated with the Azerbaijan State Agro-Industrial Complex Committee, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Union of the Caspian Fishing Industry, the Union of the Azerbaijan SSR Consumer Societies, and [title indistinct] are still creating difficulties for the railroad workers, just as they did in the past.

The internal railroad situation and the system used to load and unload freightcars must be improved. Giving accurate information on the dispatch of cargo loaded on to freightcars has not yet become common practice.

Those attending the meeting also expressed uneasiness over the results of the work carried out by the republic's economic enterprises in January and during the first 10 days of February. The republic's agro-industrial complex, the main construction enterprises, and the trade and other services were seriously criticized. The party has recommended concrete measures to the soviet and economic organs in an attempt to replace [words indistinct]

Alish Lemberanskiy, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, and Comrades Rasulova, Gasan Seidov, Gasan Gasanov, and Shanlik Aliyev participated in the work of the meeting.

REORGANIZATION OF RURAL CONSTRUCTION NOTED

LD121751 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 12 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS -- Specialists hold that reorganisation in construction in rural areas of the USSR will exert a considerable effect on the social and economic life of villages. A TASS correspondent was told in the USSR State Planning Committee that small building organisations with low productivity, the quality of whose work was often criticised by rural people, have been eliminated. 15 large republican cooperative and state building amalgamations and nearly 650 territorial and regional building amalgamations now function in the USSR. Thousands of state-owned and collective farm building organisations, as well as enterprises producing building materials, reinforce concrete structures and others, linked with them, have been merged.

In view of this it has been possible to concentrate equipment and manpower in new organisations, to equip them better and improve quality. And this has been highly needed. Already in the current year capital investments to the construction of enterprises processing agricultural produce went up by 18 per cent, capital investments for the construction of storages went up by 22 per cent, of roads by 20 per cent.

As to housing, large volumes of housing have been built in the rural areas even earlier. For instance, over 166 million square metres of floor space was built in 1981-1985. There is now 14.7 square metres of floor space for every person in the rural areas of the USSR. Most houses in rural areas are individual houses with plots and auxiliary structures.

Capital investments for the construction of housing, of clubs and other social and cultural amenities were considerably increased in the current year. It is planned to build over 40 square metres of housing, hundreds of schools, kindergartens, clubs. Over a quarter of the funds envisaged for the entire national economy is allocated this year for the implementation of plans of construction in rural areas.

PRAVDA ACCOUNT OF COTTON HARVEST RESOLUTION

PM271149 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 87 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the question of "The Work of Party, Soviet, and Economic Organs in the Tajik SSR To Bring in the 1986 Cotton Harvest Without Calling on Students and Technical College and Vocational-technical School Pupils and Without Taking Schoolchildren Away From Their Studies."

The resolution notes that in 1986 party, soviet, and economic bodies and kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the Tajik SSR did a considerable amount of work growing and harvesting cotton. Collective contract forms of labor organization became widespread. Equipment was marshaled into harvesting and transport complexes and used in two shifts.

Around 900 temporary party and party-Komsomol groups were set up to strengthen party influence on all elements of the cotton-harvesting complex. Competition was launched among the crews of cotton-harvesting combines and among the gleaners for a daily overfulfillment of the output norms, and publicity for competition was enusred. A great deal of attention was devoted to improving labor and recreation conditions for cotton growers and medical, trade, cultural, and consumer services for them.

The republic's kolkhozes and sovhozes fulfilled the targets and socialist pledges and sold 22,000 metric tons of cotton in excess of the plan. In all, 920,000 metric tons of cotton were sold to the state, including 308,000 metric tons of fine-fiber cotton. More than 84 percent is first or second grade.

In contrast to the practice of past years, when students were summoned to the cotton harvest for 2-3 months during term time, last year the harvest was brought in without calling on students and technical college and vocational-technical school pupils and without taking schoolchildren away from their studies. The whole of the academic program was carried out at all educational establishments, which was welcomed by the republic's working people. The savings as a result of the increased amount of mechanized harvesting and the noninvolvement of students in the harvest work was around R8 million.

The resolution also notes that last year the Tajik SSR still did not pay enough attention to introducing cotton harvest mechanization. One-third of the combines did not participate in the campaign. The same attitude toward mechanized harvesting can be found in all the other cotton-sowing republics. In this connection emphasis is placed on the need to further intensify the work of the republics' party, soviet, and economic organs on the comprehensive mechanization of cotton growing and better utilization of the equipment at the disposal of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The CPSU Central Committee recommended that the Central Committees of the Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Azerbaijan Communist Parties ensure the widespread use this year of the experience of Tajik SSR cotton growers in organizing the cotton harvest without calling on students and technical college pupils and without taking schoolchildren away from their studies. The solution of this task should be seen as an important socio-economic measures.

The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee was told to implement the requisite political organization measures to further improve the level of comprehensive mechanization in cotton growing and make extensive use of the mechanized method of cotton harvesting.

The USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building were instructed to adopt additional measures to create improved and reliable cotton-harvesting machinery and pickup attachments of a high technological standard and fully supply kolkhozes and sovkhozes with them. The USSR Minsitry for Mineral Fertilizer Production and the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry must ensure production of highly effective defoliants for fine-fiber strains of cotton.

The CPSU Central Committee demanded that the party committees of the aforementioned ministries and departments strictly monitor the work of Communists and all apparatus personnel in carrying out the instructions.

MEDIA COVERS 12-15 FEB AGRICULTURAL WORK

LD260123 [Editorial report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 19-25 February. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

19 February

Three oblasts of Kazakhstan have fulfilled the plans for snow retention by today. The best result has been achieved by north Kazakhstan Oblast farmers: the target has been overfulfilled by 20 percent. Snow retention has been condcuted on more than 5 million hectares in Kustanay Oblast. [1200]

The Kurgan farmers are experiencing unprecedented difficulties in seed preparations: only 70 percent of grain seeds conform with the standard, and individual batches of seeds have low germination capacity; almost a quarter of all seeds are moist. In difficult weather conditions, fewer seeds have been laid in than necessary in some farms. To make up for the losses, interfarm exchanges of seeds and donation of seeds from state granaries have taken place. (1200)

20 February

Kazakhstan: Farmers are cheerful over abundant snowfalls. Snow retention work is being carried out daily on 200 - 250,000 hectares. Farms in North Kazakhstan Oblast have the best results: they have fulfilled their plan for such work by 120 percent. (0200)

Today snow retnetion work in Kazakhstan is in progress on the 13th million hectare. Altogether in the republic it is planned to carry out this work on 32 million hectares. (0230)

Kazakhstan is getting ready for spring field work. To date, the republic's farms have overhauled 100,000 tractors; prepared about half a million seed-drills, cultivators and sub-surface cultivators. All farms in the southern zone of the republic are now completing assembly of attachment units. Individual farms in Kurgan Oblast have already begun sowing perennial grasses. Snow retention work has been carried out on almost all acreage that will be sown. Twenty million tonnes of organic fertilizer have been taken out into the fields.

21-23 February

No fileworthy reports monitored

24 February

The sowing of lucerne has started in Kashkadarya Oblast, Uzbekistan. About 500,000 hectares will be allocated this year to this crop in the republic. (1400)

25 February

The machine operators of Checheno-Ingushtiya have begun sowing fodder crops in the steppe areas of the republic, in Shelkovskiy and Nadterechnyy Rayons. (0900)

The corn-growers of the Stavropol area are ready to begin work in the fields. More wide-swathe harrowing and soil cultivating units as well as those for applying fertilizers and covering seeds are ready than stipulated by the plan for spring repairs. (0900)

Sowing of lucerne has begun in southern Uzbekistan. In Kaskha-Darya Oblast, 30,000 Hectares have been earmearked for this crop. Front-ranking farms are sowing lucerne on land previously used for cotton. (1600)

The grain growers of Stavropol Kray have finished preparation for spring sowing. All the sowing and tilling machinery has been overhauled. Farms of the Orenburg, Saratov and Voronezh, and some other oblasts have helped to provide a back-up grain fund, in connection with additional sowing and resowing of large areas. (2104)

FURTHER DETAILS ON ARMY ANNIVERSARY MEETING

PM271139 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Feb 87 First Edition p 1

["Our correspondent" report: "Marking the Holiday"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting marking the 69th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy was held at the Soviet Army Central Academy Theater 20 February.

In the presidium of the ceremonial meeting were: B.N. Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Ya.Ya. Vagris, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; CPSU Central Committee Section Chiefs O.S. Belyakov and N.I. Savinkin; USSR First Deputy Defense Ministers Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, and Army General P.G. Lushev; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; USSR Deputy Defense Ministers Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, Chief Marshal of Aviation A.I. Koldunov, Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, Marshal of the Soviet Union S.K. Kurkotkin, Army General V.M. Shabanov, Marshal of Engineering Troops N.F. Shestopalov, and Army General D.T. Yazov; Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; marshals of troop categories, generals, admirals, officers, and also leaders of a number of ministries and departments and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations.

The ceremonial meeting was opened by Yu.A. Belyakov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

USSR State Prize winner L.A. Afonin, a heat treatment worker at the "Serp i Molot" Metallurgical Plant, and V.I. Fedosov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, congratulated Soviet servicemen on their holiday.

The meeting was addressed by Army General Yu.P. Maksimov.

LIZICHEV DISCUSSES ARMY TRAINING, MORALE

PM271104 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 10

[Interview with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, by special correspondent Vladislav Yanelis: "A Place in the Formation" -- date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Yanelis] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, our conversation is taking place on the eve of Soviet Army and Navy Day, and I would like first of all to congratulate you and your colleagues on this nationwide holiday which is dear to all of us. Guided by the principle of not only noting successes on holidays, we want a businesslike, constructive discussion.

[Lizichev] I support that view....

[Yanelis] The 40 years and more that our people have lived through without a war accustoms us to the thought that peace is immutable. [paragraph continues]

Yet man lives with guns, and must live in combat readiness. This requires the appropriate training. What factors, in your view, determine the specific characteristics of military labor today?

[Lizichev] Despite our desire to reduce the scale of military confrontation, the situation remains complex. And the Warsaw Pact countries are forced to take effective retaliatory measures to maintain their defense potential at a sufficient level. However committed we may be to detente, we are forced -- I want to emphasize, forced -- to maintain military right so as to avoid strong-arm tactics and preserve the established military-strategic parity. That is the dialectic.

And since the power of every piece of modern weaponry is enormous, a very great responsibility for constant combat readiness rests on the shoulders of today's soldier. I repeat -- very great. Never before has so much depended on the men in uniform. Although they have the help of modern computers, means of communication and guidance, and so forth. Do you understand what I am getting at?

[Yanelis] Of course. You mean that the qualitative leap forward in technical equipment requires a different spiritual and professional maturity than before?

[Lizichev] Today's soldiers and seamen are incomparably better educated than people of their age were before the war, for instance. Nearly 80 percent of fixed-term servicemen have higher and secondary education. General erudition, a knowledge of mathematics, physics, optics, and other sciences enable people to rapidly master modern weapons and hardware and apply them effectively in the combat situation. I said "rapidly," but it must be even more rapidly. The ceiling of the army's technical resources is constantly rising.

Any stagnation or marking time, and we could lag behind the potential enemy, who has gone on ahead. We have no right to allow ourselves to do this, even to the slightest extent.

Here it is worth remembering that through the fault of the bellicose imperialist circles, the situation in the world remains complex and tense, with a frankly maniacal obsessiveness, to break the existing military-strategic parity and achieve nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union with the help of SDI. The nuclear explosions carried out at the Nevada testing range in February also testify to the stepping up of U.S. aggressive policy. The American side, contrary to the will of the world community, has rejected the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests and whipped up a reckless new wave over the crazy "star wars" plans.

I want to quote Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words, from his speech to the participants in the recent international forum: "The USSR does not demand anything for itself that it would refuse to others, it does not lay claim to one iota more security than, say, the United States. But the Soviet Union will not agree to an injured status or discrimination."

The party and the Soviet people and the personnel of the Army and Navy are doing everything necessary to ensure that our Armed Forces are at a level that excludes strategic superiority for imperialism. In the units and on the ships a resolute course has been set of improving the quality of combat and political training, strengthening discipline and regulation order, and stepping up responsibility and exactingness.

It is well known that pure professionalism does not resolve tasks by itself. A person who is technically highly trained but spiritually poor will not go beyond the duties laid down in the manual. The army's strength lies in the sum of its patriotism and its custodians -- people capable of going beyond the limits of what is customary or ordinary. And each individual person -- is he not truly strong precisely by virtue of civic spirit and of faith and conviction in the rightness of the cause he serves? So military education is based on ideological and moral education. The vast majority of servicemen are real Communists, Komsomol members, and patriots.

[Yanelis] But people are people. Their moral and professional training cannot be identical in the first instance. One person knows his speciality in greater depth, another less well, one regards service as his duty to the motherland, another is trying to get out of serving in the Army. But they all join the same formation...

[Lizichev] It is no accident that the Armed Forces now raise so urgently, alongside the strengthening of combined political and military leadership, such questions as the strengthening of collectivist principles, democracy, and comradeship. The absence of any one of these qualities is harmful to the military collective. Of course, the army is the army, and the commanding officer's order is always the law. But I consider it wrong for officers to extend the "tone of command" and peremptory assertion to their opinions about things which do not by any means merit this categorical line. Someone may declare: "I think this is a bad movie, and you should not watch it." Why use that tone here? An opportunity for dialogue, for human, informal contact, in short, for real education is being lost. And that could subsequently affect the standard of combat training too.

Military service comes along at precisely the time when the outlook and character are being formed particularly actively, and when physical development is rapid. Moreover for the majority of young people service is the first really serious test. It is not easy to get used to the army rhythm, at first some people are stunned by the exactingness of regulations, the strict daily routine, and the great physical efforts required. And the first thing a young soldier must learn, with adult certainty, is that the army is a military school that makes no allowances. But those who think that individualism is suppressed in the army and everyone is reduced to the same level ae mistaken. On the contrary, in the army the personality is developed to the fullest. Here a special value is set on courage, will, determination, gumption, organizational talent. And it is characteristic -- so our research shows -- that in seeking an example to imitate, young people today do not look so much to the classics, they seek heroes on whom to model themselves in a time closer to their own.

[Yanelis] But in a certain proportion of young servicemen carelessness and relapses into the cult of material possessions and spiritual poverty can be observed. How serious is this?

[Lizichev] It could be said that we are aware of what is happening and that military service, as a rule, straightens people out. And that is true. But let us try to get to the bottom of the reasons for the defects. Are they not the fruit of political naivete in the face of the growing threat of war, are they not a token of moral and ethical juvenility?

We talk much about the struggle of the two ideologies, but in practice we ourselves sometimes cultivate examples of Western mass culture and the mercenary spirit, referring to "fashion," "being up to date," and the "special" interests of young people. So we raise complacent snivellers who think it is not compulsory to prepare for army service, and if you have to serve, it would be nice to install yourself wherever things are easiest and most peaceful.

We are clearly aware that there must be serious restructuring in military-patriotic education. Our observations show that a proportion, however insignificant, of draftees who join the troops or fleet are not prepared for fulfilling the responsible mission of defending the motherland. This makes it all the more necessary to restructure consciousness and character, get rid of bad habits, and find your place in the military formation -- on equal terms with others.

[Yanelis] It is good if a young person putting on uniform joins a sound collective. But if the collective itself needs improving? I say this, Aleksey Dmitriyevich, because the editorial office receives letters from servicemen and their parents describing with astonishment and indignation instances of nonregulation relations in the army. That is, the fact that in some military collectives there are cases of an unfair attitude to young soldiers and self-interested and therefore unequal distribution of duties between first years and those who are completing their service.

[Lizichev] Well, such reports are no revelation to us. We know about instances of nonregulation relations, and we take the severest measures against those responsible for this evil. These injurious processes were not widely publicized before... Oh yes, they were protecting the honor of the regiment. But if, as party practice teaches us, we want to wage a real war on any negative phenomena, collective efforts and an atmosphere of openness are needed. I am sure the prestige of our Armed Forces will not suffer from our talking honestly about our problems.

The factors giving rise to incorrect relationships among servicemen are known to us. In our view they lie in the low level of exactingness of commanding officers, the weakness of political education work, especially individual work, and insufficiently principled party and Komsomol organizations.

The sound moral atmosphere that commanding officers and political workers seek to form in military collectives is an important condition of the struggle against moral anomalies. But if such anomalies occur all the same sometimes, it is healthy forces which will destroy them most successfully.

Judging by my many years of experience, the more fully and consistently regulation order is observed in a unit or on a ship and the more active are the party and Komsomol organizations, the firmer comradely relations become and the more favorable are the conditions for every serviceman's moral development. It is in collectives like this that an atmosphere of intolerance grows up toward any manifestations of arrogance, rudeness, conceit, hypocrisy, or the belittling of young servicemen's dignity. I know well, for instance, how these matters stand in the Chapayev Guards Motorized Infantry Division. That is where we should learn to work with personnel!...

That is the demand of the times, the demand of the restructuring that has become a reality today. We see its essence in a decisive turn toward people, toward the quest for the conditions in which all the reserves of professional skill in every serviceman can be realized.

[Yanelis] You have touched on the subject of restructuring. To what extent has it affected the Armed Forces?

[Lizichev] Very directly. It is not for nothing that we identify the people with the Army, saying they are united. Restructuring affects, first and foremost, people -- the main "builders of victory," as Suvorov said. [paragraph continues]

While people themselves are not profoundly aware of the need for changes and do not regard them as their personal task, the results will be poor. Here much must be done by Army and Navy political organizers and primary party organizations. We want them to deepen their individual work with every serviceman. Practice shows that this always has a positive effect on the results of military labor. Of course, we have considerable problems too, which cannot be resolved without a profound restructuring of the human consciousness. The army has, in some form or another, red tape, bureaucracy, careerism, demagoguery... It is hard to combat such shortcomings in an atmosphere of secrecy, but in conditions of openness they are doomed.

[Yanelis] The army is getting younger. Often today's commanding officers or political workers -- in a word, officers -- are not much older than those they are educating, and sometimes they lack experience of life or of the army. I once saw a sergeant in his 2d year of service teaching a young lieutenant to camouflage an observation post...

[Lizichev] That is not so terrible. The sergeant is obviously a bright lad, an excellent practical man. The lieutenant is straight from the academy -- how should he know about all the subtleties of the soldier's art? And I am sure that lieutenant will teach the sergeant many other professional "secrets"...

And in general a military collective is really strong and united when a process of mutual enrichment is constantly taking place within it. This is only possible given human closeness between officers and men. In our army it is the age-old custom for the officer to be on equal terms with the soldier in swallowing dust on the firing range, maintaining combat watch, and, in a word, sharing equally with him all the burdens of service. And soldiers respect such officers, they trust them, they will follow them through fire and water.

But there is, as the saying goes, a black sheep in every family. Take this example. Firing tests are in progress. The company's overall assessment is calculated on the basis of each soldier's personal results. And here is an officer using various tricks to boost the results. But the soldiers know that the "five" mark was unmerited! The result is moral trauma. One such episode, a second... Of course, for the most part overreporting, deception, and dishonesty are exposed. The army milieu unhesitatingly gets rid of teachers like that. However, it is more difficult to remedy the moral damage done to people.

I want to be correctly understood. The criticism voiced here is dictated by the desire to eradicate any unhealthy phenomena. It is addressed to those who sometimes forget the lofty mission of an officer and professional, service ethics.

The officer corps has always been and will remain our pride and the repository of the best traditions of the Army and Navy. Raised in terrible fighting against the enemy and educated in the spirit of devotion to Marxist-Leninist teaching, it has assembled in its ranks people who are out of the ordinary, talented, and possessed of a heightened feeling for whatever is new and advanced. It must always be remembered that young military men emulate the officers, and their morale becomes the young people's morale.

I recently read with great interest the thoughts of writer Valentin Pikul on the army, published in recent issues of the journal SOVETSKIY VOIN. In my view he said it correctly: "...Always, at all times, in our fatherland officers have been proud of their calling and have valued the honor of an officer above life. Today's Soviet officer understands that well, feels it, and is conscious of it."

[Yanelis] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, you have passed through all the stages of political work in the troops. What qualities, in your view, should today's political worker have?

[Lizichev] First of all, party commitment. Without a deep-seated, committed faith in the justice and correctness of the principles of socialism, you cannot be a real commissar. Throughout nearly 70 years of the Soviet Armed Forces' existence, the commissar corps has been the army's political, party foundation, its ideological backbone...

Today we can place alongside the legendary names of the commissars of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars people like Hero of the Soviet Union Aleksandr Demakov, deputy company commander for political affairs. He saved his subordinates at the cost of his own life. Thousands of people remember Aleksandr's last words, transmitted over the radio: "... I have been wounded four times ... I have one grenade left. Tell them I died a Soviet man." Most effective of all is the example of those who teach feats not by precept, but by their own feats.

[Yanelis] At the Eighth USSR Writers' Union Congress, you said that military labor deserves more attention from the country's best literary forces. Is there really a lack of attention?

[Lizichev] Yes, there is... And especially a shortage of quality. Time does not diminish the interest in military topics. In the army milieu people know well the works of Alekseyev, Bogomolov, Bondarev, Gonchar, Karpov, Pikul, Standyuk, Chakovskiy... But these are all books about the last war. Where is the really talented, vivid, biting prose about today's army? I think much remains to be said about or internationalist servicemen and about the courage of officers and men in the period of the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident. And it is necessary to write without embellishment, truthfully. Only then will a literary work be accepted by the reader without reservation.

Last year the journal YUNOST published Oleg Zhdan's stories, "Adult Life" ["Vzroslaya Zhizn"]. And almost at once we started receiving many letters from readers and extracts from decisions of party and Komsomol meetings. The author is reproached for failing to assess properly the significance of military service and not seeing its state, patriotic, or civic content.

There is plenty of mediocrity and lifelessness, alas, in some of the military newspapers. They lack astringency, critical thrust, topicality. It would do our newspapers no harm to be a bit more persistent in combating the tendency to make merely formal replies to criticism, which is not all that frequent anyway...

[Yanelis] The present generation of soldiers is far distant from those who defeated fascism. And it is increasingly difficult to rely entirely on long-ago examples in the military-patriotic education of young people. Something probably should change in the forms of education in military history...

[Lizichev] The heroic traditions of the soldiers of the revolution and the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars are our priceless heritage. We constantly turn to their military and moral tribute both to the veterans and to the young people aged not much more than 20, who have been awarded high government awards for their loyalty to duty, excellence in military service, and courage. Young people listen with tremendous attention to a 20-year-old with combat orders on his chest. He is the same as his peers, yet he is also immeasurably older and more grown-up. He has personally tested every truth. And he has something to tell his peers, since he remained true to the end to the military oath and his patriotic and international duty. [paragraph continues]

We teach young people to take up arms, and we must shrink from remembering that weapons are entrusted to them not in order to observe ritual, but in order to use them when the need arises.

The 27th party congress and the recent January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the need for more profound work with cadres, including military cadres. The party and the Soviet people expect decisive steps from us to improve ideological education work and increase the combat capability of the Army and Navy. And the first thing that seems important to me is to take energetic measures to help every draftee to take his place in the military formation as quickly as possible. This task is quite realistic. The strength of our armor depends on it.

AKHROMEYEV HOSTS ARMY, NAVY DAY RECEPTION

PM271223 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Feb 86 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In Honor of Anniversary"]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, held a reception 23 February to mark the 69th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The reception was attended by marshals of the Soviet Union, marshals of categories of troops, Soviet Armed Forces generals, admirals, and officers, Great Patriotic War veterans, and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations.

The guests included military, naval, and air attaches from foreign embassies.

The reception was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

GENERAL TRETYAK AT KIEV MD KOMSOMOL CONFERENCE

PM271617 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 87 Second Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov report under the general heading "Mood for Action"]

[Text] A Komsomol conference has been held in the Red Banner Kiev Military District. The report by Lieutenant General V. Arapov, member of the district military council and chief of its political directorate, and the speeches by Army General I. Tretyak, deputy defense minister and chief inspector of the USSR Defense Ministry; Major General of Aviation N. Antoshkin; V. Tsybukh, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee; Senior Lieutenant O. Shchekotikhin,; Junior Sergeant S. Ayrapetyan; and others discussed ways of improving Komsomol organizations' combativeness and activeness in the spirit of the demands of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum.

A. Chumak, chief of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Organs Section, took part in the conference's work.